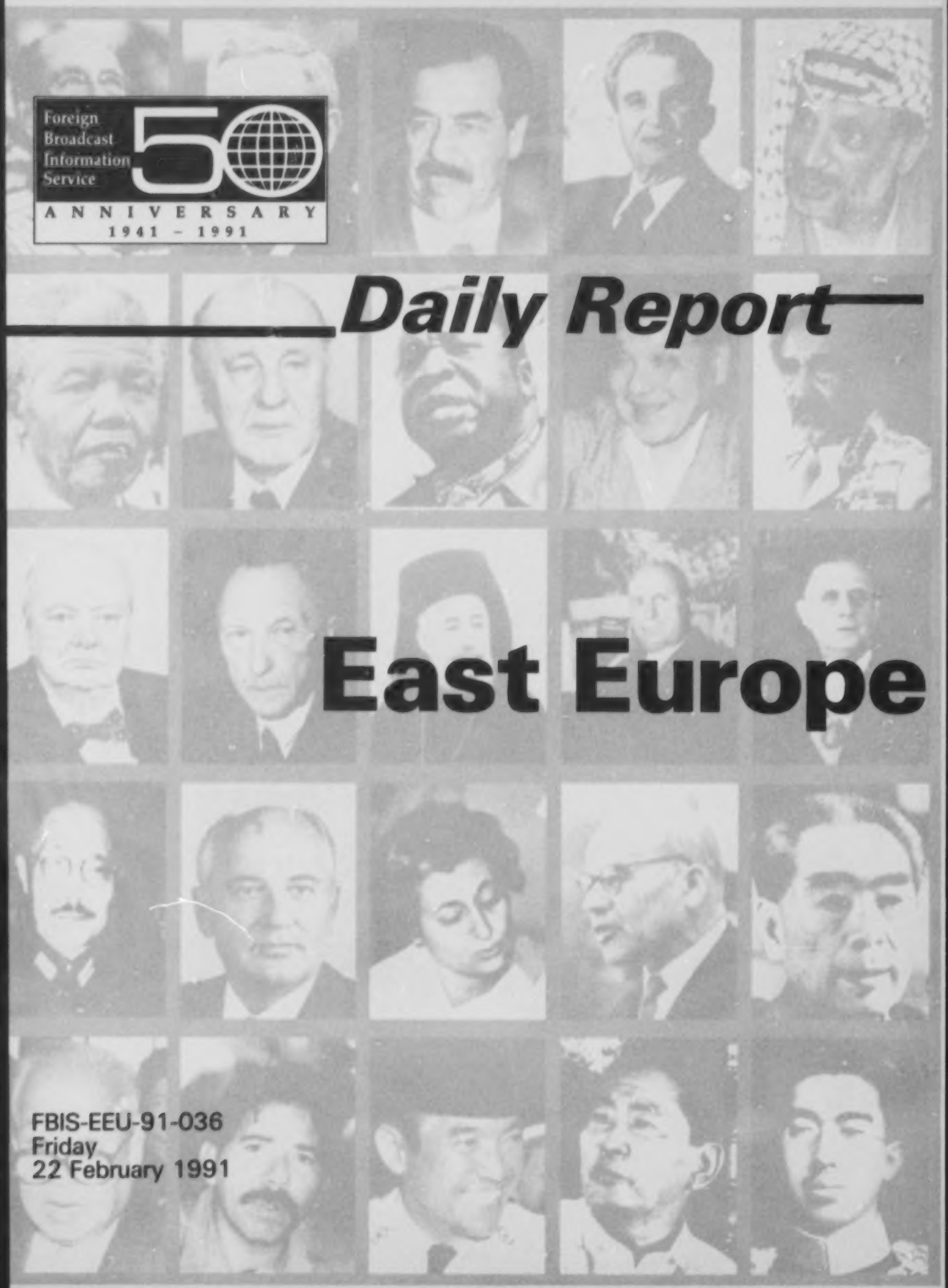

Daily Report

East Europe

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Official Views Progress at Vienna CFE Talks

LD1102230991 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 11 Feb 91

[Interview with Ambassador Istvan Gyarmati, head of the Hungarian delegation to the CFE talks in Vienna, by Itsvan Kulcsar; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Kulcsar] In what mood are the negotiations continuing now?

[Gyarmati] The first and most important problem, which I do not wish to discuss in detail here, is the general worsening of the political mood in connection with the Baltic republics. Unfortunately, at the conventional arms reductions discussions, this is further undermined by the fact that, of their declared military units, the Soviet Union has simply reclassified three as navy units, thus trying to remove them from the limitations of the treaty. We think that if this Soviet interpretation remains it will open the way for uncontrolled arming outside the treaty, which cannot be reconciled with the aims of the treaty. This is the greatest problem that is depressing the negotiators.

[Kulcsar] Let us suppose you succeed in settling the question of these three units and the interested parties ratify the Paris Treaty. The limitations of what type of armament is the subject of the negotiations that started today in Vienna?

[Gyarmati] If we succeed in resolving the problem in time and there is enough time left until the Helsinki follow-up meeting next March, then first of all we would like to consider the limitation of the number of personnel. Furthermore, we Hungarians would like it if steps are also considered toward limiting the offensive military structures as well, but this very much depends on when we can begin the negotiations in substance.

[Kulcsar] My last question concerns the possible timing. When do you hope to conclude the present stage of the negotiations? You just mentioned next year's Helsinki follow-up meeting. I imagine this represents some kind of deadline?

[Gyarmati] This is a deadline in two senses. In one sense, we have to account to the European Security Conference about what we have or have not done because many countries—among them Hungary in the foreground—think this present form of negotiations, in which the negotiations between the Warsaw Pact and the NATO members countries are separated from the all-European negotiations, cannot be retained longer than till next March.

'Wind of Democracy' Continues To Blow in Tirana

Tanks Surround Homes of Leadership

AU2102144491 Tirana International Service in German 1330 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] BASHKIMI carries an article by (?Lucia) Doci and (?Florenc Batalli) entitled "The Tank-Surrounded Block," which states, among other things, that the block in which the leadership lives was surrounded by tanks and military forces at midday on 20 February. There has been talk for some time about eliminating the block, but it still exists.

Instead of being eliminated, it has become a fortress, or rather, a tank-surrounded block. When the monument to Enver Hoxha in Tirana was toppled, none of Hoxha's close comrades, comrades-in-arms, and colleagues dared to defend his work in public in the way that they have defended their own privileges. They were closely tied to the leader of the Albanian Workers Party. No one knows party and state affairs in Albania better than they do. No one can predict the course of events better than they can. Why have they now barricaded themselves in? Why are they afraid of the masses of the people. The people and ordinary communists never knew any luxury, unlike the inhabitants of the block.

Nevertheless, the people are modest and demand nothing more than that these people speak openly about their mistakes and that everybody should bear responsibility for their errors. This justice would be the surest form of defense, not tanks. Nobody knows better how to forgive than our people, who at this hour are experiencing a great spiritual emancipation. We, the authors of this article, feel obliged as ordinary communists to distance ourselves from this leadership that could not prevent these serious events. We ask the security forces to remove the tanks from this barricaded block. The wind of democracy has been blowing for a long time in Albania.

Day After Riots Starts 'Normally'

AU2102150491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Excerpt] Today started normally in Tirana after yesterday's events and the shock suffered by the city's inhabitants. Working people went to their jobs, but production has been below par. Our correspondents went to the Valias mine, where we interviewed the chief engineer Ilir Brucaj, and to the Misto Mame Wood Combine, where we interviewed its director, Sali Kodra. [passage omitted]

Shots Reportedly Fired as 3,000 Demonstrate

AU2102150791 Paris AFP in English 1434 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 21 (AFP)—The Army fired automatic weapons near the communist party's Central Committee building Thursday as nearly 3,000 people demonstrated in the Albanian capital's central square, an Albanian journalist said. Servicemen used their firearms to disperse about one hundred people protesting against the unexpected arrival of two tanks on Tirana's central Boulevard of the Nation's Martyrs.

"This may be a provocation by people who are out for violence to justify the declaration of a state of emergency in the country", the journalist reached by telephone said.

Up to 3,000 people immediately flocked to Tirana's central square. A group of demonstrators climbed the walls of the Palace of Culture and tore down one of the last slogans on the building—"Glory to the Albanian Workers' Party", the country's communist party, he added.

On Wednesday 100,000 protestors cheered as students toppled the statue of late Albanian leader Enver Hoxha, the hardline leader who personified Albanian communism.

Army Reinforcements Appear

LD2102153591 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] In Tirana the Army is trying to maintain the power of the Communist Party with arms on the streets. We start our detailed repors with a rather dramatic Tirana dispatch. We received the following report from Eduardo Rosza.

[Rozsa] Tanks that were in position yesterday in front of government buildings to protect the government and the communist party [Albanian Workers' Party] still in power from a charge by the crowd, appeared again on the squares at 1200 and they immediately started to shoot at the crowd without warning.

I was attacked by soliders, and only with great difficulty did we manage to get back by ambulance to the hotel from where we are dispatching this report. I am on the fifth floor of the Hotel Tirana and below me more than 50,000 people have again gathered. The soldiers are watching from a distance for the time being. They are not shooting at this moment, but I can see from here that reinforcements are arriving continuously for the Army. More and more tanks are visible and the crowd started an onslaught against the National Museum a few minutes ago.

Last night President Ramiz Alia announced formation of a new government with the opposition. Despite this, today at 1230 he gave an order to the Army to open fire. Peo[illegible] on the streets and the opposition parties reported to us that they believe that a military coup may have started.

Shots Reportedly Fired Near Defense Ministry

LD2102154791 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Excerpt] The situation is still very uncertain so I phoned the Hungarian Embassy in Tirana a few minutes before our bulletin to ask what they can see of the dramatic events. In reply to my question, it was confirmed that shootings took place in the Albanian capital not long before our program. Shots could be heard, especially around the Defense Ministry building. They have no knowledge of victims for the time being. [passage omitted]

Opposition Leaders Speak; Hoxha's Works Burned

AU2102173491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] The sound of some gunshots, which as we have heard were quite accidental and shot merely into the air, became the reason for hundreds of inhabitants to gather on Martyrs of the Nation Boulevard in front of the Dajti Hotel. The crowd steadily grew and was confronted by the forces of order that had blocked the boulevard.

In this situation, Meritan Ceka, member of the Managing Commission of the Democratic Party, called on the crowd to withdraw in the direction of Skenderbeg Square. The crowd then set off toward the square shouting: Freedom, democracy. In Skenderbeg Square, he called for calm and wisdom so democratic processes may be carried out without violence and without bloodshed. Hysen Cobani, member of the Presidium of the Republican Party, also spoke at this rally, which was attended by thousands of people.

Some young people climbed onto the terrace of the Palace of Culture and demolished the sign saying Glory to the Albanian Workers' Party. At about 1500, a group from the crowd went to the Flora bookshop, where Enver Hoxha's works are sold. They entered the store, threw books outside, and set them on fire. Nothing else has happened so far. The forces of order are on duty at many points in the capital city.

Organizations React to Recent Events in Tirana

PDSh Statement Warns Against 'Provocations'

AU2102213191 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 21 Feb 91

["Statement by the Democratic Party on Today's Events in Tirana" issued on 21 February; place not given]

[Text] Today's developments have shown that certain circles and extremist forces are threatening the country and the fruits of democracy in Albania, are using provocations, traps, and various means by which they seek to impose a state of emergency and military dictatorship and to strike at democracy. The activities of these forces, as always, become more dangerous after every success achieved by democracy in Albania. The Democratic Party [PDSh] once again calls on all its members and supporters and all the country's democratic forces not to become the tools of others, and to avoid traps, provocations, and invitations to acts of violence. It is an honor and duty for every citizen and every member and activist of the PDSh to cultivate tolerance and to avoid all incidents and acts leading to violence. The lack of democracy in Albania has claimed many victims. The establishment of democracy in Albania must not claim a single martyr or victim. The PDSh stresses once again that it does not accept and cannot justify revenge in any form. (?This is a last resort) of uncultured and extremist forces. The PDSh is convinced that only peaceful methods, not violence, can realize the great democratic aspirations and ideals of our entire nation. It expresses once again its unswerving commitment to the establishment of democracy by democratic ways and means, and rejects as groundless all the accusations and insinuations the Albanian Government laid at its door yesterday evening.

[Signed] The PDSh Managing Commission, Tirana, 21 February 1991

PRSh's Gambeta Comments on Protests

AU2102214691 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Statement by Vangjush Gambeta, member of the Republican Party's Initiating Commission, in Tirana on 21 February—live or recorded]

[Text] This morning, there was again a gathering in the center of the capital. The appearance of tanks and some shots in the air worried people, prompting them to gather. Uncontrolled behavior seriously jeopardized democracy, the pluralist state, and the people's quiet life. Under present conditions, the creation of a presidential council and a working government made up of socialists—to which the Republican Party [PRSh] has given its full approval—is the best and sole way to peacefully reach the 31 March elections, at which the people will express its will for the establishment of a truly democratic state that will enjoy the support of the entire people and the whole world. The PRSh issues a call to the people of Tirana and all Albania to behave calmly in the interests of the homeland and democracy and to avoid all provocations from wherever they may come. With the great maturity of the people, let us preserve social peace and the victories we have achieved on the road to democratization. It also calls on the people to dissociate themselves from irresponsible and extremist elements and from the use of violence and to commit themselves to solving every problem in a peaceful way.

PPSh Statement Condemns 'Vandalism'

AU2102213091 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Statement by the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee; issued in Tirana on 21 February]

[Text] Comrade citizens of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, comrade communists, mothers and sisters, workers, cooperativists, young people, and intellectuals: As you know, the capital city of Albania and some other cities have experienced some of the most serious and dramatic days in their history. Crowds have lost all sense of reason and turned to acts of vandalism. They have succeeded in tearing down the monument dedicated to Enver Hoxha, the founder of the Albanian Workers' Party [PPSh] and our democratic state.

Their aims are now clear. This is the most serious assault so far on the people's power and on the PPSh, which carried out democratic change. The PPSh and its Central Committee resolutely condemn these acts of vandalism that have seriously outraged the entire population. Under these conditions, honest and patriotic people cannot sit waiting with their hands in their pockets. Instead, they must organize on the basis of neighborhoods, districts, streets, schools, enterprises, institutions, and, together with communists, they must confront the situation to halt the dark forces in their tracks. No political body should reconcile itself to crimes of destruction. Albania and the people's power are imperiled, and the victories we have achieved and the freedom of the homeland are in danger.

The PPSh Central Committee therefore calls on all working people and all patriots—especially the patriotic communists of the city and district of Tirana—to organize, rise to their feet, and establish order in cooperation with the forces of order, restoring calm to our beloved capital city and our dear homeland.

[Signed] The PPSh Central Committee
[Dated] Tirana, 21 February 1991

Radio, TV Appeal for 'Prudence, Maturity'

AU2102220491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Various destructive acts took place in Tirana today, (?of which you have been informed.) Albanian Radio and Television appeals to the consciences of citizens and all patriots and honest people to dissociate themselves from such acts and to assist the force of order in the performance of their duty. Today, more than ever, the fate of the homeland, our dear home, is in danger. It is up to us all to defend our national values.

Albanian Radio and Television also appeals for prudence, maturity, and stability, as necessary preconditions, as has Ramiz Alia, president of the People's Assembly.

ATA Issues Report on Situation

AU2202105791 Tirana ATA in English 0904 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Tirana, February 21 (ATA)—On February 21, at 12.20 hrs., moments of tension were created again at the central boulevard of Tirana. Police forces reinforced with tanks were stationed here. They stopped the march of a huge crowd of people to the "Deshmoret e Kombit" boulevard. Air gun shots were heard.

From there the crowd headed to "Skenderbeg" Square. In the stairs of the Museum of National History, representatives of the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the Independent Trade Unions of Albania spoke to the people. They said among the other things that the Albanian people are an ancient and cultured European people who aspire to freedom, progress and democracy. The speakers Neritan Ceka, Hysen Cobani, Gezim Shima, etc., pointed to the desire of our people to be free, independent, sovereign and democratic. Addressing them many a time, they said that our people need tranquillity and we want to attain democracy without bloodshed ,etc. They called on the participants to disperse quietly, return to work in their enterprises and institutions ,etc.,so as life continue normally in the capital .

Meanwhile ,various elements performed destructive acts. They tore out a slogan put on the Palace of Culture and set the "Flora " library on fire.

TU Distances Itself From 'Uncontrolled Behavior'

AU2102215491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Statement by the the Initiating Commission for the Creation of the Independent Miners Trade Union in Tirana on 22 February]

[Text] Prompted by today's events, in which large crowds of people assembled in various parts of Tirana and where there was also an unjustifiable lack of restraint in their behavior, the Initiating Commission for the Creation of the Independent Trade Union considers it more than necessary to state that it dissociates itself from such uncontrolled behavior that passes the bounds of democracy and becomes a dangerous breeding ground, in which the democracy we are building with effort and sacrifice can be destroyed.

Prompted by yesterday evening's communique of the Council of Ministers, which, apparently on the basis of false information, states that the Independent Trade Union has issued calls for violence, the Initiating Commission stresses that it has continually, in the past, yesterday, and today, issued calls to workers and all Albanian people stating that true democracy must be achieved by democratic means. Violence, burning, and destruction do not conform with this principle. The

necessary calm must be secured as soon as possible. Let us not fall prey to provocations carried out by extremist or conservative elements.

The Independent Trade Union will make every effort to fulfill the legitimate demands not only of workers but of all the people; however, this does not mean that we agree with uncontrolled behavior that leads to quite unreasonable and undemocratic acts. Haste and hotheadness are our worst advisers. They serve antidemocratic forces and not democracy, the aims of the Independent Trade Union, or the aspiration of the whole nation.

[Signed] The Initiating Commission for the Creation of the Independent Miners Trade Union

[Dated] Tirana, 21 February 1991

Hungarian Ambassador Interviewed on Events

LD2102225691 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Telephone interview with Hungarian Ambassador Ferenc Poka by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Reporter] Contradictory reports have been received from Albania today, because the demonstrators in the streets of the capital clashed with the armed forces several times. For this reason I telephoned the [Hungarian] ambassador, Ferenc Poka. First I asked him how the demonstration that finally lead to the clashes began.

[Poka] At about 1215, the crowd gathering at the main square of Tirana headed on to the road leading to the headquarters of the Albanian Workers' Party's Central Committee, to the Council of Ministers, and to the residential area of leading politicians. ere they were stopped by the order-keeping forces enforced by tanks. This lead to clashes, and, according to our information and experience obtained on the spot, the order-keeping forces fired into the air. We have no information at all about casualties.

[Reporter] So there is no news that they might have fired into the crowd?

[Poka] No. I definitely have to say that all the information we have up to now refers to the fact that they fired into the air.

The next step was that representatives of the Democratic Party, the main opposition party, and the now forming independent trade unions tried to persuade the demonstrators to stop the action. They asked them to behave calmly. Thus the representatives of the party and the trade unions managed to get the people out of these clashes. They managed to get them back to the main square, where the demonstration continued for about another two hours. Then, however, the majority of the crowd broke up.

[Reporter] What is the situation of the Armed Forces in the capital at the moment? I mean, are there tanks and armed men on the streets?

[Poka] These buildings and these quarters are being guarded without exception. [passage omitted]

Cameria Association Holds Conference in Fier

AU2102204791 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] The first conference of the branch of the Cameria Political and Patriotic Association was held in the town of Fier today. The conference was opened by the engineer Agush Bele, member of the Initiating Group for this association's branch, who, after outlining the association's aims, said that we are all required to work to strengthen national unity and to rigorously enforce the laws of the law-governed state in the current times through which our country is passing, with political pluralism, the democratization of life, the campaign for the 31 March elections, and the serious economic situation in which we are living.

Naim Danipi, member of the Initiating Commission, spoke about the draft program, draft statute, and other documents of the association. Sali Bullaku, member of the Initiating Commission, greeted the conference, and Arshin Rexha, member of the Initiating Commission, answered questions about the association's program.

This conference elected a managing council, a presidium, a commission for tradition and culture, and an economic-financial commission. A delegation was also elected for the general conference the association will hold in Tirana.

Kosovar Delegation Arrives, Received by Alia

AU2102173891 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Ibrahim Rugova, the distinguished Kosovar activist and chairman of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, together with Ali Aliu and Bujar Bukoshi, members of the Alliance's Presidium, arrived in our country today. They were welcomed at Rinas Airport by Sihat Tozaj, secretary to the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Dr. Sali Berisha, chairman of the Managing Commission of the Democratic Party; Dr. Sofokli Lazri, director of the Institute for the Study of International Relations, and others.

Comrade Ramiz Alia received Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, with Ali Aliu and Bujar Bukoshi, members of the Alliance's Presidium, at the seat of the Presidium of the People's Assembly. Comrade Xhelil Gjoni, secretary to the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee, and Dr. Sofokli Lazri, director of the Institute for the Study of International Relations, were also present at this reception.

Zhelev Meets Industry Leaders; Ends UK Visit

AU2102191791 Sofia BTA in English 1823 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] London, February 21 (BTA)—Today Bulgaria's president, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, met Mr. Ian Martin, Amnesty International secretary-general, and some of his aides. The Amnesty International officials expressed their approval of Bulgaria's activity in promoting human rights and said that, on the whole, the current situation in Bulgaria was good.

Amnesty International closely follows the drafting of the new Bulgarian Constitution.

"There are not political prisoners in Bulgaria any more. The last political prisoners were ethnic Turks imprisoned during the forcible assimilation campaign," President Zhelev said.

Later on Dr. Zhelev laid flowers on the grave of the Bulgarian writer Georgi Markov, a victim of political assassination.

Late in the afternoon Dr. Zhelev and the delegation he led left for Bulgaria.

Before his departure the deputy prime minister, Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev, a member of the Bulgarian president's team, made a positive assessment of the meetings and the results of the official visit to Britain. "We have been received as representatives of a democratic country, of a reliable partner to do business with in the future," Mr. Ludzhev said.

"We and our hosts quickly got down to business. We are returning to Sofia with about 20 different offers and ideas which we will consider carefully and will handle the most urgent ones. We have met British Petroleum and Rover officials, held discussions on the possibility of importing telephone and other communication equipment in Bulgaria and on a number of other proposals. We have met many experts from the Bank of England, the British Home Office, law officers and businessmen, and discussed different forms of cooperation. The meetings will be extremely useful in helping us adapt Bulgaria's legal framework to the Western standards and achievements. This cooperation will be conducted through the know-how fund which Bulgaria was admitted to during our visit. There are opportunities for joint activities with banking, marketing and agricultural consultants and experts. At the BBC we discussed the possibility of buying their programs and films," Mr. Ludzhev said.

Popov's Recent Minorities Statement Assailed

AU2102110091 Sofia BTA in English 2154 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, February 20 (BTA)—In the course of a month Yugoslavia's Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs has protested twice against the "anti-Yugoslav" and "anti-Macedonian", as they are called here, statements made by Bulgarian Prime Minister Dimitur Popov and Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis.

Yesterday Mr. Marko Markov, Bulgaria's ambassador to Belgrade, was summoned by Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Mr. Dusan Rodic. Mr. Dusan Rodic, as was also reported by TANJUG, expressed his "serious concern" over the statements made by Mr. Popov and Mr. Mitsotakis at their press conference in Athens on February 15, denying once again the "existence of a Macedonian national minority in the two countries." According to Yugoslavia the existence of such a minority was a historical fact. The Bulgarian ambassador answered that it actually was a historical fiction.

Mr. Markov told the BTA that apart from expressing its routine "concern" over the rights of the "Macedonian minority in Bulgaria" at yesterday's talks at the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry, the Yugoslav side accused Bulgaria of "increasing manifestations of nationalism" as well as of "repressive measures" against the organization "Ilinden." In response to these accusations the Bulgarian ambassador pointed out that "Ilinden" had not been registered because its aims contradict Bulgarian legislation. Mr. Markov said that any attempt to exert pressure on issues settled by the Bulgarian Constitution verges upon interference in Bulgaria's internal affairs.

The Yugoslav Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs has protested before the charge d'affaires of the Greek Embassy in Belgrade. This was the second protest since January 17.

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Ankara, February 20 (BTA)—The Turkish mass media report on the statements made by Turkey's Foreign Minister Mr. Ahmet Kurtcebe Alptemocin before his departure to the United States and Canada. They highlight the answer given by Mr. Alptemocin to a question referring to the statement made by Bulgaria's Prime Minister Dimitur Popov during his visit to Athens, that "there are no ethnic minorities in Bulgaria."

Mr. Alptemocin said that in Bulgaria there are 1,500,000 ethnic Turks whose rights are protected by bilateral and international agreements and by CSCE documents. He pointed out that Mr. Popov is trying to "deny obvious facts." "Such statements can promote neither Bulgaro-Turkish relations nor Turkey's relations with her other neighbours. To the contrary, they may create problems. We do not wish to impede but to encourage our contacts. The rights of the minorities in Bulgaria are settled by international agreements", Mr. Alptemocin said.

State To Sue for Damages; Zhivkov Indicted

AU2202105391 Sofia BTA in English 0913 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 22 (BTA)—The state will sue Todor Zhivkov for damages valued at 26,516,039 leva,

according to the first two sections of the indictment. He is charged with crimes committed in his official capacity, with paying undue remunerations, with gaining a pecuniary advantage by means of deception involving documents, etc.

The 247 witnesses called under the 75-page indictment include a number of former senior Communist Party and government officials. A total of 15,943 leva has been paid in fees for expert evidence, and five experts will be called to testify.

The trial of the ex-No. 1 will begin on the morning of February 25 in the largest courtroom of Sofia's Palace of Justice. The case will be heard by a still undisclosed Supreme Court panel of three judges and four jurors.

Judge Ivan Antonov is rumoured to be among the presiding judge nominees. Some time ago Mr. Antonov said in an interview for the opposition press that all will remain "idle talk and demagoguery" if no emergency legislation is passed under which the culprits could be arraigned.

The investigation, which was conducted between January and August 1990, compiled records in 108 volumes of 200 pages each.

Lawyers Mrs. Daniela Dokovska and Mrs. Reni Tsanova will appear for the defendant.

The indictment lists charges arising from the publication of Todor Zhivkov's works in Bulgaria and abroad. His selected works have been brought out in 38 volumes, apart from other sets on specific subjects. Zhivkov's writings have been published in every conceivable language, from Japanese to the local dialects of Zimbabwe.

Criminal proceedings have also been initiated against the former leader's son-in-law, Ivan Slavkov. The case was dismissed on October 5, 1990, but then it was referred for reopening on a tip-off. Zhivkov's grandson, Todor Ivanov Slavkov, has been charged with rape. Zhivkov's son, Vladimir Zhivkov, and his daughter Evgeniya Zhivkova face criminal proceedings for unearned income.

Prosecutor Expects 45-Day Trial

AU2202132991 Sofia BTA in English 1234 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 22 (BTA)—The trial of former dictator Todor Zhivkov and of his long-serving right-hand-man Milko Balev, which is to open in three days' time here, may be completed within 45 days "provided there are no unforeseen developments," Prosecutor Krasimir Zhekov told the BTA.

Mr. Zhekov, 47, who will almost certainly appear for prosecution, made it clear that a month and a half will be quite enough to hear the 247 witnesses called in the case. They include General Milushev, the former chief of the now disbanded Security Protection Department (UBO), Mr. Belcho Belchev, ex-minister of finance, the former prime minister Mr. Georgi Atanasov, the incumbent chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist (formerly Communist) Party Mr. Aleksandur Lilov and Mr. Prodan Stoyanov, chief of the Secretarial Department of the former Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Mr. Zhekov has serious reservations and criticisms about Zhivkov's statements for the press concerning the charges against him. The prosecutor, though, said both in jest and in earnest, "I am not cross with him." Todor Zhivkov has adopted the best possible line of defence, he went on to say.

Mr. Zhekov said that Zhivkov was perfectly aware of his situation and of the charges preferred against him. Judging by his conduct and by the evidence he gave during the six-month investigation, Zhivkov soberly and consistently built up his thesis of total innocence, the prosecutor emphasized.

In Mr. Zhekov's view, Zhivkov has been trying to influence the atmosphere surrounding the trial and to manipulate public opinion. He had in mind the assertions of the accused that he learnt about the case records from the mass media.

Zhivkov was formally served the charges preferred against him and he signed every count with his own hand and testified on them in the presence of counsel, the prosecutor stressed.

Asked about the defence lawyers of the former dictator, Mrs. Daniela Dokovska, Mrs. Reni Tsanova and Mr. Yordan Shkolagerski, Mr. Zhekov only said, "they are professionals."

Mr. Zhekov began his career in the judiciary as a prosecutor in Peshtera, a small town in southern Bulgaria, and rose from the ranks to a position in the Prosecutor General's Office in 1988. He has not taken part in political trials and does not think that the trial of Todor Zhivkov is a political one.

Legislative Group Ends Kurdzhali Investigation

AU2102145691 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1115 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] The legislative commission on the problems in Kurdzhali, led by Mr. Atanas Uzunov, which has been in the town for several days to investigate the situation—the occupation of school buildings and the interruption of classes—has completed its work. It held meetings with the Provisional Executive Committee of Kurdzhali Municipal People's Council and representatives of all political forces, familiarized itself with the situation in the educational establishments, and visited several municipalities in the region. The commission will process the materials it has collected, after which it will present its views to the Grand National Assembly.

According to a BTA report from Kurdzhali, the Kurdzhali school students in the first, second, and third

years are finding it very difficult to understand what a wasted school year will mean for them. This problem is already on the agenda. The children first spent their time on school trips, then had their Christmas vacation. After Christmas, they enjoyed an extra unscheduled holiday because the schools were closed. Finally, from 4 February until now they have not been going to school because of one or another form of parental pressure.

In the schools in the villages of the district, where the vast majority of the students have a Turkish ethnic self-awareness, the parents' initiative committees insist on the introduction of Turkish language classes. In the town schools in Kurdzhali, where most of the children are from Bulgarian families, the reaction is the reverse. Today, access to the schools in Kurdzhali is again blocked, which means that every lost hour of teaching brings a large proportion of the 40,000 students in the region closer to having their academic year declared void.

As is already known, the Provisional Executive Committee of the Kurdzhali municipal people's council resigned as a result of the tense situation created there. Our correspondent Georgi Talev reports that today the local Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] issued a declaration in this connection.

Having described the reasons for the situation, the local SDS coordinating council declares that it will send its representatives back to the Provisional Executive Committee provided that eight specific conditions are satisfied, including the following:

—Relieving of the district and regional public prosecutors from their posts;

—Reopening of the investigation into the persons responsible for the losses caused to enterprises during the sit-in strike in the summer of 1990;

—Reopening of the preliminary investigation of the charges against Dr. Damyan Getev, chairman of the regional Committee for Defence of National Interests, for allegedly disseminating untrue facts which fomented ethnic hostility;

—Initiation of a preliminary investigation into the leaders of the regional Committee for Defense of National Interests and the Fatherland Party of Labor for incitement of breaches of public order;

—Starting an investigation of the parents who took part in the blockade of the Kurdzhali Municipal People's Council offices; and

—Immediate dismissal of all school directors and teachers who took active part in manipulating and involving the school students in the actions against another ethnic group and in the interruption of the teaching process.

Nationwide BSP Membership Reregistration Data

AU2102123891 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 18 Feb 91 p 2

[Text] Our correspondent Vanyo Stoilov reports that 25,000 Socialists have reregistered in Stara Zagora district, and that the regional membership of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] is expected to reach 29,000. The Stara Zagora municipal BSP organization is expected to retain 75 percent of its present membership. In Radievo, only three or four people have failed to renew their membership.

Our correspondent Galina Antonova reports that in eight municipalities in the region of Ruse 13,930 Socialists have confirmed their BSP membership. The highest number is in Ruse, where 9,120 reregistered in 278 primary party organizations. In Byala, Dve Mogili, and Borovo, almost two-thirds of the party members have new membership books. The lowest percentage is in Vetovo Municipality, where only 511 confirmed their membership.

According to a report from our correspondent Mariya Todorova, over 8,000 Socialists in the region of Pernik have renewed their membership. The highest percentage of reregistrations—about 90 percent—is in Kovachevtsi Municipality, the birthplace of Georgi Dimitrov. In Radomir Municipality over 1,600 Socialists have received new membership books; in Trun Municipality—1,000; in Breznik—almost 900; and in Zemen—508.

In Vidin, our correspondent Ninko Gruev reports that 5,897 Socialists have confirmed their BSP membership, which represents more than 50 percent of the municipal party organization. Of these, 3,124 have received their new membership books.

Our correspondent Kostadin Georgiev writes that 4,500 Socialists confirmed their membership in the BSP organization and clubs of Karlovo Municipality. The level of reregistrations is in excess of 70 percent; in the villages of the municipality, it has reached 90 percent, and in the village of Stoletovo—100 percent.

According to our correspondent Stefan Severin, in the city and municipality of Plovdiv 16,100 Socialists have confirmed their membership, over one-quarter of whom have a higher education. The members of the Alternative Socialist Association have preferred to register in their city districts, to act as true catalysts of the changes, while many members of DEMOS [Movement for Democratic Socialism] have become secretaries of primary party organizations. Depoliticiziation has deprived the Plovdiv organization of 5,000 Socialists.

BSP Leader Lilov Reportedly Offers To Resign

AU2102153791 Sofia BTA in English 1143 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 21 (BTA)—The leadership of the Bulgarian Socialist (former Communist) Party (BSP) had

a "long, frank and constructive" discussion of the party's responsibility and its leaders' personal guilt until late last night, the BSP Press Centre announced. However, the expected declaration on its responsibility and guilt is not ready yet. The text will be revised and adopted at the next session of the party's supreme governing body. Its date is not fixed.

The session elected two new deputy chairmen of the Supreme Party Council. As was expected, one of them was ex-prime minister Andrey Lukanov, a high-ranking Communist functionary during Todor Zhivkov's regime.

The working version of the declaration on responsibility and guilt reportedly says that the party cannot be blamed en bloc. The BSP undertook the task to provide documents for the court and the prosecution. "Nothing significant has disappeared from the archives," the Socialist "DUMA" daily quotes one of the party leaders. It was said at the session that now when the trials against Todor Zhivkov and other former leaders are forthcoming, the BSP's declaration is very important. According to the Alternative Socialist Association, a faction in the BSP, there was a tendency to seek justifications and make excuses.

Reportedly, Mr. Aleksandur Lilov said he was ready to leave his post if his guilt and responsibility as a member of the former communist leaderships were considered incompatible with his present position as BSP leader, "DUMA" writes.

After November 10, 1989, 3,500 people were expelled from the party on grounds of their concrete guilt. Since the time when the party's leading role was guaranteed by the Constitution its membership has dropped by an estimated half.

Vulkov Attends Council of Europe Session

AU2102205491 Sofia BTA in English 2037 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Madrid, February 21 (BTA)—Today Mr. Viktor Vulkov, Bulgaria's deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, attended here the extraordinary session of the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers. Mr. Vulkov represented Bulgaria which had been granted a special guest status with the Parliamentary Assembly.

Mr. Vulkov once again expressed Bulgaria's desire to join the Council of Europe. He pointed out that his very presence at the session proved that "the radical democratic processes in Bulgaria and its peaceful acceptance of the universal values of European civilization are irreversible".

Mr. Vulkov reaffirmed Bulgaria's condemnation of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

Kornazhev on Elections in Pazardzhik Constituency

AU2102133091 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1115 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Telephone conversation with unidentified announcer, reporter Lili Yancheva, and SDS Deputy MP Petur Kornazhev, chairman of the Mandate Commission, in Sofia on 21 February, concerning validity of elections in Pazarzhik that returned Stoyan Ganev, now co-chairman of the SDS Coordinating Council, as a legislative member—live]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We will now contact our reporter Lili Yancheva in our legislative studio, regarding an article published today in DUMA, which claims that the radio was responsible for causing the misunderstanding in the Pazardzhik Constituency.

[Yancheva] I am not sure how much our listeners know of this affair, but I would only like to state at the outset that I was a member of one of the teams of reporters that covered both the first and second rounds of the elections, and am not aware that any electoral commissions were left with any such impressions, all the more so because the election results were announced by officials of the electoral commissions themselves, and not by us. Nonetheless, some explanation is due regarding this matter, all the more because accusations are being leveled against us. I have with me in the studio Mr. Petur Kornazhev, chairman of the Mandate Commission. What is your view regarding this affair?

[Kornazhev] I learned about this matter this morning at a news conference of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, and read the article myself about an hour ago. This claim is groundless. A special situation arose in the Pazardzhik Constituency. I will tell you about it. The protocol on the first election round is invalid as a document. Some of the columns have not been completed properly, the resolution is missing, signatures are missing, and there are other irregularities. Accordingly, it was not the radio, but the Central Electoral Commission that decided the protocol was invalid, and that accordingly this round of the election must be declared null and void. [passage omitted] The district electoral commission adopted a decision to hold a second election. I do not see here any interference on the part of the radio. It seems that many people are seeking to make a political issue of this problem, which in my view, based on my qualifications as a lawyer—although a member of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]—is a purely juridical one. [passage omitted]

Forum For 'Salvation of the Motherland' Organized

AU2102133591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Feb 91 p 2

[Dora Chichkova report: "Bulgarian Constitutional Forum Tries to Rescue the Motherland"]

[Text] The Bulgarian Constitutional Forum, which was adopted yesterday at a meeting held in Sofia's Ivan Vasov National Theater, was established as a supra-party formation for the purpose of contributing to the salvation of the motherland. The meeting was convened by an initiative committee chaired by Professor Doctor Nikolay Genchev.

The Bulgarian Constitutional Forum (BKF) pursues the goal of consolidating and expanding the front of democratic forces in Bulgaria. The dogmatic and sectarian idea that only one opposition force should exist in our country is the reason why communism, which had already collapsed, is rising again.

The movement is expected to work under the leadership of a Provisional Consultative Committee composed of 15 members and chaired by Professor Nikolay Genchev, until the first regular session of the forum scheduled for May 1991.

Mutafchiev Reports U.S. Military Overflights

AU2202110091 Sofia BTA in English 0907 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 22 (BTA)—From January 10 to February 20, 933 U.S. military air lifters have passed over Bulgaria's territory, Minister of Defence General Yordan Mutafchiev reported yesterday. Using the ICAO [International Civil Aviation Organization] approved air routes, they took off from a U.S. military air base in Germany en route to Saudi Arabia or to the Incirlik base in Turkey, overflying the territory of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey. The flights were controlled by the Ministry of Transport, the air traffic controllers and the Ministry of Defence.

Overflight clearance in principle was granted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in response to a note of the U.S. Embassy after agreeing the matter with with the Ministry of Defence. In giving its consent the Ministry of Foreign Affairs based itself on the decision of the Grand National Assembly declaring Bulgaria's readiness to join the allied international forces in the Persian Gulf.

Pernik Metalworkers Face High Unemployment

AU2102110891 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 18 Feb 91 p 1

[Mariya Todorova report]

[Text] The labor exchange in Pernik predicts that unemployment figures will rise to 15,000 this year. Metalworkers will be the most heavily affected; about 3,500 workers will lose their jobs in the ecologically unacceptable and loss-making production facilities of the "Stomana" Company, but the newly constructed facilities will employ no more than a few hundred. Some of the production facilities in the blast furnace and open-hearth furnace division have been closed down, while the remainder will only continue to operate until the stock of raw materials has been used up. This will cause a chain reaction in the other production shops. The Radomir Metal Company will also say farewell to thousands of its workers in Pernik. A considerable number of redundancies is also expected in other companies in this town, which depends predominantly on a heavy industry that is unprofitable under market conditions. The blow will be particularly hard on employed disabled people (in Pernik the incidence of job-related diseases and injuries is alarmingly high), as well as on women, for whom there are the fewest job vacancies at the moment.

The real danger that this fortress town of the workers' class may become a bastion of unemployment was the reason for the decision to establish a foundation to assist the unemployed through voluntary contributions and charity work. This decision was adopted at a meeting of the municipal coordinating council of the independent trade unions, legislative members from Pernik district, and representatives of the Pernik provisional municipal administration, the regional union of economic managers, and the regional consumer protection union.

Health Minister: Medicine Supply Unclear

AU2202105991 Sofia BTA in English 0859 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 22 (BTA)—The prices of Bulgarian medicines are expected to rise four-fold if producers base their pricing on the new exchange rate of 28 leva to a dollar. Minister of Health Mr. Ivan Chernozemski explained that a specially set up group is working on some measures to be taken for making medicines more readily available to children, pensioners and the underpaid. Special measures will be taken for the protection of those socially disadvantaged people who need take a group of commonly used but expensive medicines.

It is still unclear whether the producers will be subsidized by the state or the customers will receive compensations. Some medicines that are outdated and hardly used in world practice will be taken off the list.

The rise in the prices of some medicines, such as insulin (the price of which is said to have soared 18-fold) will burden only the budget, as patients get it free of charge.

The most important thing now is to immediately import the medicines the country is in most urgent need of, Mr. Jean Yves Vidot, director of the Fundamental Medicines Department of Pharmaciens Sans Frontieres, told a BTA reporter. On behalf of the Bulgarian Government and the French association Mr. Vidot and Mr. Chernozemski signed an agreement on cooperation in pharmaceutics.

Everything possible should be done to resume the production of medicines in Bulgaria; for this purpose we will try to establish contacts between Bulgarian and French pharmaceutical specialists and the respective pharmacology departments in Bulgaria and France, Mr. Vidot said.

The association has sent medical relief supplies to Bulgaria several times including anti-cancer medicines for children and insulin which have already been distributed among the hospitals. Tomorrow a new lot of surgery anaesthetics will be shipped from France, enough to perform 25,000 operations.

Mr. Vidot added that this was only the first phase, meant to satisfy most urgent needs. A system will be created in Bulgaria and France through the French Humanitarian Aid Secretariat and with the participation of the EEC, which will guarantee a long-term and better structured aid for Bulgaria.

Government Proposes New Price Control Service

AU2102175691 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Feb p 1

[Dimitrina Aleksandrova report: "Council of Ministers Will Exert Control Over Producers and Tradesmen Through the National Price Service"]

[Text] The establishment of a national service on prices was discussed at a Council of Ministers session held yesterday. The service is expected to exert state control over the observance of price regulations and fluctuations, to deal with analyses of the market situation, and to assist the government in determining established prices. The new service is supposed to replace the still existing Price Committee while the staff should be reduced by half.

A draft law on commerical activities will be discussed and adopted by the government in principle.

According to this draft law, the definition of commercial activities should not be restricted to the concept of trading goods, but should extend to all forms of enterprise that seek financial profits. In this respect the legal document applies to industrialists, builders, bankers, insurance, and other agents.

The documents provides regulations for the establishment of holdings and consortiums as associations of commercial enterprises.

The draft law will be submitted to the Grand National Assembly and the government would like it to be discussed within the upcoming weeks.

The Council of Ministers withdrew the draft law on foreign investments for reexamination.

Finance Minister Ivan Kostov stated during a recess in yesterday's government session that foreign investments cannot be attracted on the basis of a special law, although it grants advantageous conditions to the foreigners, because such a special law could be easily repealed. Foreign investors would rather trust the principles guaranteed by the Constitution and by our basic laws. As long as such legislative principles exist in our country, we simply need some appropriate regulations on the import and export of foreign capitals, the minister added.

Decline in Bread Consumption Reported in Sofia

AU2102122591 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 15 Feb 91 p 2

[Dimitrina Zareva report]

[Text] The high bread prices have evidently had a corrective effect upon the population. According to Mitko Petkov, chief of the dispatch office at the Bakery Products State Company, between 21 and 26 January Sofia's average bread consumption was 450 tonnes. After 1 February, consumption fell by 100 tonnes, although it remains higher than last year (250 tonnes). The decline in bread consumption has made larger quantities of flour available, which makes it possible to resume normal levels of bread production in the Central Cooperative Union network. In recent months it had declined by 50 tonnes.

IMF Currency Arrangements Reported

AU2102212291 Sofia BTA in English 2052 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 21 (BTA)—Owing to financial difficulties, Bulgaria issues a promissory note for the contribution which it has to cover for the national currency portion of its quota in the International Monetary Fund. This portion amounts to 77.3 percent of the quota of 310 special drawing rights (434 million U.S. dollars), which Sofia has to pay for membership in the IMF.

The national currency contribution has been calculated at an IMF-approved exchange rate of seven Bulgarian leva against the dollar.

For the time being, Bulgaria shares in the IMF on entirely borrowed money. Bulgaria paid the hard-currency portion of its quota (22.7 percent) by a short-term credit from Holland, which will be repaid from the stand-by credit expected from the IMF.

Construction of Belene Nuclear Plant Suspended

AU2202095791 Sofia BTA in English 0858 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 22 (BTA)—The construction of the Belene nuclear power plant has been stopped, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov told the legislature yesterday in reply to a question. No funds have been allotted for its resumption, either.

Mr. Popov pointed out that the Power Engineering Committee will allocate a sum for the conservation of the project.

First Publication of Turkish-Language Weekly

NC2102051191 Istanbul GUNAYDIN in Turkish 14 Feb 91 p 8

[Text] Sofia—A Turkish weekly newspaper was published in Bulgaria yesterday. It was the first Turkish newspaper to appear since the campaign launched in that country to oppress the Bulgarian Turkish minority. The campaign reached a peak during the Zhivkov era in Bulgaria.

The chief editor of the weekly, named "RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES" and published in the Turkish and Bulgarian languages, says that the first edition was made available in all parts of Bulgaria, including Sofia. Noting that "this is an important achievement," he added that an effort will be made to turn the weekly into a daily newspaper within a short time.

The new weekly, published with the approval of the coalition government headed by Dimitur Popov, will be the voice of nearly two million Bulgarian Turks, who were subjected to a major oppressive and "destructive" policy during the communist administration in Bulgaria.

Federal Assembly Deliberates on Restitution Bill

Preliminary Discussions Begin

AU2102145291 Prague CTK in English 2113 GMT 19 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 19 (CTK)—Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky today familiarized members of Czechoslovak parliament with the Czech and Slovak Governments' opinions on the restitution bill submitted to them by Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa.

He reminded the deputies that implementation of the law will be left solely to the governments of the two national republics.

The Slovak Government disagrees with the "federal" proposal, noted Rychetsky, and recommend that it be rewritten. Furthermore, they accept neither financial restitution nor restitution in kind, he said. Meanwhile the Czech Government would like the law to be applied to cases involving illegal nationalization decrees as far back as 1945.

Vaclav Benda, joint rapporteur for the Committees of the House of the People, said the restitution bill reflected negotiations in the constitutional committees, as well as opinions of members from other parliamentary committees and the National Councils (parliaments), and discussions on Monday among members of the various parliamentary groupings.

The House of Nations' rapporteurs recommended that the bill be passed, saying they were convinced it would be especially beneficial for Slovakia.

Asked how the budget would be affected by the implementation of restitution, Deputy Prime Minister Rychetsky said that the government's proposal estimates the cost will amount to 10,000 million korunas.

One of the rapporteurs estimated that under the new law about six percent of the state's property would be affected.

Discussions on the restitution bill will continue on Wednesday.

Debates on Bill Continue

LD2102000191 Prague CTK in English 2245 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 20 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak parliament is expected to be in session late into the night today continuing its debate for the second day on a bill which will be crucial for the intended large-scale privatization in the country.

The bill on extrajudicial rehabilitation, as it is officially called, provides for the restitution of property confiscated after the February 25, 1948 communist takeover. The property is to be returned to physical persons or they are to be compensated.

The bill is now before parliament for the second time after parliamentary committees failed to reach agreement on it in earlier stages. Almost one hundred amendments have been proposed in the debate.

Some of the opponents of the bill asked if Czechoslovakia can afford such extensive restitutions. Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus said today that the question of money was not decisive because it was a "highly moral issue". He estimated restitutions to be worth some 300,000 million crowns [korunas]. Property worth some 130,000 million would be dealt with under the proposed law on privatization. Factories and other enterprises falling under the law on restitution would account for some 90,000 million half of which would be returned in kind and the other half compensated by obligations.

The minister said that the figures actually depended on what extent of restitutions would be approved and also on for instance how many of the estimated 600,000 emigrants would apply for the return of property. The government insists that only those who will resettle in this country should be eligible.

Rapporteur Rostislav Senjuk said that restitutions would concern about 6 per cent of the country's basic assets.

Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky argued against suggestions that the legislation should not apply only to natural persons but should also be extended to legal persons because, he said, the country could hardly afford it. He also said in was unacceptable to go before February 25, 1948 in the restitutions.

Federal Assembly Passes Law

LD2102184891 Prague CTK in English 1652 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 21 (CTK)—On the second vote the Czechoslovak parliament approved today the law on restitutions under which property confiscated under the communist regime between February 25, 1948 and the end of 1989 will be returned to its former owners or their heirs.

The approval will certainly be received with relief by the architects of Czechoslovak economic reform as it is considered crucial for large-scale privatization in the country. Failure to approve it, or its extension beyond the government proposal, would further delay privatization which is already said to be lagging behind the other aspects of the reform. Some economists say that this disharmony is causing serious economic complications.

Immediately after the vote today the parliament started to debate the law on "large" privatization which will be known as the transformation bill. Despite heated and dramatic discussions which delayed the debate of the restitution bill before the full Federal Assembly by a fortnight, and despite 97 amendments submitted in parliament, the Assembly basically approved the bill as it was put forward by the government.

It provides for the return of property to physical persons who are Czechoslovak citizens but emigrants will be eligible for restitution only if they resettle in this country. The law will apply to property taken over by the state after the February 25, 1948 communist coup in Czechoslovakia. The property is to be restored in kind wherever possible and the rest will be compensated financially. A special law is to be approved on property formerly owned by the churches.

A total of 182 deputies out of the 300-member Assembly voted for the bill. In the complex system of voting in the parliament of two 150-member houses, the House of the People approved the vote just after midnight with 86 votes for and 25 against the bill, and 13 abstentions. The House of Nations voted twice because on the first attempt the law did not receive a sufficient majority among the Slovak half of the deputies. In the second vote today the bill was supported by 96 members of the house, 24 were against and nine abstained.

Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus last night estimated the property affected by restitution at some 300,000 million crowns [korunas]. Of this, property worth some 130,000 million will be dealt with under the proposed law on privatization. Factories and other enterprises affected by the law on restitution will account for some 90,000 million half of which will be returned in kind and the other half compensated by bonds. The minister said that the figures still depend on many factors, such as how many of the estimated 600,000 emigrants would apply for the return of property. Parliamentary Deputy Rostislav Senjuk said that the restitutions will affect about 6 per cent of the country's basic assets.

The House of Nations of the Czechoslovak parliament today passed the bill on extrajudicial rehabilitation, after not having adopted any of the 97 amendments. Out of the 65 deputies to the house elected in Slovakia, 45 voted for the bill, 14 were against it and five abstained. In the Czech part of the house, 51 deputies out of the total of 67 deputies present were for it, 10 voted against and four abstained. The remaining deputies ignored the vote.

The House of the People and the Czech part of the House of Nations approved the bill shortly after midnight. Voting had to be repeated in the House of Nations today.

Chamber of Nations Completes Voting

LD2102155791 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] A report on the Federal Assembly proceedings is presented by Bohuslav Gecy.

[Gecy, in Slovak] Around 1330 a separate meeting of the Chamber of Nations deputies completed its voting on amendment motions and commenced its voting on the restitutions bill as a whole. The bill was passed by 45 votes in the Slovak section and by 51 votes in the Czech section of the Chamber of Nations. The passing of the bill was accompanied by applause not only in the hall but also in the lobbies. The passing of this motion means that the bill was passed also by the whole Federal Assembly, because the Chamber of People already passed it yesterday. After the interval, the joint session will resume. On its agenda is the bill on big privatization.

Church Against Separate Law for Property Rights

AU2102155191 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 19 Feb 91 p 2

[CTK and "(das)"-signed report: "The Return of Property to the Church"]

[Text] "In asserting its property rights, the church always intends to proceed in a manner that respects the interests of the whole of society and the justified needs of present owners," states the declaration of the CSFR Bishops' Conference given to CTK apropos the return of property to churches and religious societies. The statement—signed by Cardinal Tomasek, CSFR Conference of Bishops chairman, and Bishop Fratisek Radkovsky, its general secretary—also states that the CSFR Bishops' Conference suggests that property wrongs arising from forcible donations, or expropriation of church-owned property, should be remedied first in stages within the framework of the law on extrajudicial rehabilitation. Dealing with this problem in a separate law, as the federal government suggests, would mean—in view of the process of privatization—either a delay or the risk that, due to privatization, the church will lose some property before it is allowed to claim its property rights. The CSFR Bishops' Conference therefore suggests integrating into the law on extrajudicial rehabilitation the provision that churches and religious societies are eligible for restitution.

Special Interest Offices To Open in Lithuania

AU2102160191 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Feb 91 pp 1,2

[Interview with Jiri Cerny, deputy director of a Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs Territorial Section, by Jiri Roskot; place and date not given: "Special Interest Offices Not Only in Lithuania?"; first three paragraphs are RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] Prague — The report on Thursday's [14 February] meeting of the CSFR Government at which the establishment of a CSFR Special Interest Office in Vilnius and a Lithuanian Special Interest Office in Prague was discussed has aroused great interest.

Therefore, to get more detailed perspectives and information, we addressed the pertinent institutions.

Federal Government Spokeswoman Nada Petrova was not present because of illness and, as we were told, no one could represent her in this position; therefore, no standpoint was communicated to us. We were told to address the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Michal Cermak, Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press

Department director, referred us to the relevant territorial section. Its deputy, Jiri Cerny, told us:

[Cerny] The offices have not been opened yet. The CTK report presents a precise formulation, approved by Mr. Calfa, of this issue. I know that trade and economic cooperation with all the Soviet republics is involved, including Lithuania. Agreements on trade and economic cooperation are to be signed with the following republics: the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and Lithuania as well. Where there is no commercial representation, other forms of representation will be established.

[Roskot] Are special interest offices to be opened in other Soviet republics as well?

[Cerny] This is not excluded, and it has not been discussed with anyone yet. These offices provide no consular services and have no diplomatic status. This is important. No such agreement has been signed with anyone. Only authorization to sign such an agreement at a convenient time is involved.

[Roskot] If the special interest offices do not have diplomatic status, to whom will they be subordinate?

[Cerny] They will not be subordinate to anyone. They will simply serve trade and cultural interests. Any organization, from a chamber of commerce to an academy of sciences, can address offices and book accommodations via the office. Yet a visa cannot be obtained from the office. The employees of the office will have neither diplomatic nor official passports. We do not know when and where they will be set up. Not even the technical questions linked to this issue have been discussed.

[Roskot] Is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs authorized to sign the protocol?

[Cerny] It is authorized to sign that the office will be established someday.

We asked the USSR Embassy in Prague about its reaction. Press Attache Alexander Udaltsov told us:

"We have no official position on the matter. We welcome the development of contacts between states and the USSR republics at all levels and in all spheres. As far as the establishment of special interest offices with Lithuania is concerned, this is a new and unusual form. We have noticed that the CSFR Government declaration emphatically stresses that the spheres of the office's activity will be the economy, science, culture, and education. The office will not provide consular services and will not have diplomatic status. We believe that it will really be so. I would like to add that any recognition of Lithuania as an independent subject of international relations is groundless at the present time, since Lithuania remains a part of the USSR.

"No one can be surprised that, if there are attempts made in contradiction with the USSR Constitution, they will meet with a corresponding reaction from our side."

Bankruptcy of First State Enterprise Reported

AU2102140291

[Editorial Report] Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 19 February on page 1 carries a 900-word Blanka Ruzickova article entitled "Victory or Capitulation?" The article deals with the "first bankruptcy in the CSFR." The company concerned is the Construction Transport state enterprise in Lovosice, North Bohemia, a company with 94 employees. The Lovosice company's assets, valued at 9.5 million korunas, will now be auctioned off. Ruzickova attributes the company's bankruptcy to its insolvency, caused by higher fuel costs, higher credit interest rates, and lack of orders due to the falling volume of building activity and the emergence of new competitors. Because the banks did not accept the company management's "consolidation plan" and refused to extend further credits to it, and because negotiations on its acquisition by other enterprises failed, the Ministry of Industry of the Czech Republic decided to "liquidate" the company as of 15 February. Ruzickova quotes Pavel Novak, a Czech Ministry of Industry official, as having told her that he considers it "sad" that "everyone is applauding" the ministry's decision. He himself does not regard the company's liquidation as a victory because "you do not win wars through capitulations."

Refinancing of Insolvent Enterprises Reported

AU2102135691 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 18 Feb 91 p 1

[Marcela Doleckova article: "'D'-Day—1 March 1991; The Enterprises' Credit Burden Relieved"]

[Text] On March 1, "Operation TOZ" [trvale se obracejici zasoby—permanently maintained stock] should be inaugurated. It is an operation that will relieve the enterprise sphere of its burden of debts, which is all out of proportion. This burden is a result of the conversion by the commercial banks of the credits provided for the permanently maintained stock to a commercial basis, i.e., to loans with a relatively short life and a rather high interest rate.

We have written repeatedly about the historical shifts leading to the establishment of the credits for the permanently maintained stock, mostly in connection with the fact that as of this year these specific credits became ordinary commercial credits. Thus the companies finances were hurt considerably, and this, among other things, was reflected in the acceleration in the growth rate of insolvency. Commenting on this issue, HOSPODARSKE NOVINY drew attention to the fact that although the state cannot write off these credits, it should provide conditions for an acceptable solution to the problem.

Now, the state financial council has decided on a rapid action. The philosophy behind its decision is implied by the constantly deteriorating situation in the enterprise

sphere that makes any case by case assessment impossible. Given such a situation, a horizontal approach is required. That is how Operation TOZ was inspired. Of course, it is only the first stage of the actual solution.

The first stage consists of transferring the total volume of the credits for the permanently maintained stock as of 30 November 1990 (approximately 170 billion korunas) at the commercial banks to state—or rather the Ministry of Finance—debentures and obligations. The ministry will open an account with the commercial banks and the debts will be transferred to this account.

Thus, the balance sheet of the commercial banks will be cleared (By the way, their credits for TOZ also caused some embarrassment to the IMF) and above all, the position of the enterprises improved. The credit and payment burden of the enterprises will be relieved, and that should reflect positively in their ability to pay. Their chances of being able to make decisions regarding their resources are thereby improved and—most importantly—the conditions for privatization will be formed.

Operation TOZ will concern both state and cooperative enterprises, although it will be applied to a different degree. In the state production sphere, approximately 90 percent of the TOZ-credit volume as of 30 November 1990 will be included (since that time, some companies paid off a part of their debt); in the state trade, marketing, and supply organizations, it will be 50 percent; and in cooperative enterprises, 40 percent will be included. The Ministry of Finance explains the disadvantage to the cooperatives by the fact that no individual obligations were ever set for them with respect to the state budget, while the state enterprises know well the "supplementary levies:" When there was a danger of a deficit, the enterprises had their state-treasury levies increased. It all boils down to this: The state enterprises were stripped of more, therefore Operation TOZ is more generous to them.

Of course, Operation TOZ does not remove from the enterprises the duty to pay off their debt. This duty remains albeit under mitigated circumstances. The interest rate apparently should be just above the prime rate (somewhere between 11 and 13 percent), the life of the loans was extended to eight years. The fines for speculative enterprises are hard. An undelivered payment for the year is immediately transferred to the commercial rate and the enterprise will be under market pressure and might even fail.

Operation TOZ itself is not a market operation, it is only a method for helping the enterprises in their first steps in the market economy. The decisive factor in further development of the enterprises will be the second stage, the implementation of which depends on the legislature—the adoption of the transformation law, according to which a national property fund should be established. The outstanding debts accrued in Operation TOZ would be transferred into this fund, and it would deal with the obligations of the TOZ- type individually, i.e., case by case according to the privatization projects as a part of enterprise debts in general. (One of the possibilities could be that a foreign investor buys out the enterprise debts.)

Since Operation TOZ will drain the resources corresponding to the size of the TOZ credit transferred to the loan, the measure will not have any inflationary impact. The enterprises themselves will take part in the operation by making the payments (including the interest), and the state will take part by giving up the taxes it would collect on the profit by the financial institutions, which are going to have less profit as a result of the lower interest rate. The Ministry of Finance is of the opinion that financial institutions should take over some of the financial requirements—for example, by providing a preferential rate of interest on the funds provided for the Ministry of Finance to cover the outstanding debts. The financial institutions are, however, rather hesitant. Of course, the Czech State Saving Bank, which is the strongest source of funds, does not intend to threaten its coverage of the costs of payments of the interest payable on people's deposits.

The Federal Ministry of Finance is convinced that 1 March as a "D"-day is possible. Of course, obstacles of the administrative and legal type must be overcome by that date.

January Figures on Economy Reported

AU2102131991 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 18 Feb 91 p 2

["(vl)"-signed report: "Fifty Percent More Expensive Than Last Year"]

[Text] The retail price of goods rose by 50.2 percent in January, compared to the same month last year. Of this, food rose by 63.7 percent and industrial goods by 37.5 percent. If, compared to January of last year, retail turnover in major trade organizations (21,250 million korunas—expressed in current prices) was higher by only 9 percent, then it means that the physical volume of retail turnover was 27.4 percent lower than in January last year.

We could ask more questions apropos the figures released in the January 1991 Federal Statistical Office report on the situation in our economy. How much have we restricted our consumption? How much smaller are our purchases really? Another matter is to what extent these figures reflect hoarding that took place at the end of last year or the attempts to counter sometimes outrageous prices by limiting, or even postponing, purchases. Sometimes it seems, however, that food producers, manufacturers, as well as retailers realize that they have set prices too high and, at least in some cases, they will have to lower prices. On the other hand, we can still expect an increase in the prices of industrial goods.

Therefore, it is necessary to look at January's results with reservations; this also applies to other branches. The

production of industrial goods reached a volume of 103.7 billion korunas the previous month. After the elimination of price effects, this represents, compared to January 1990, a drop of 2.2 percent—and this would be too flattering. In civil engineering production, where the drop can be estimated to have reached 30 or even more percent, a much worse situation is looming.

Railroad transportation suffered from a lack of interest by transporters, since in January it transported only 17.1 million tonnes of goods, that is, 17.5 percent less then in the same month of last year.

Marketing problems in agriculture are becoming dangerously entangled. The procurement of slaughter animals dropped by 30 percent as compared to last year, of this, the procurement of cattle by almost 40 percent. (This does not include direct producer-to-consumer sales that cannot be expressed in numbers as yet.) The procurement of milk was also lower (-14 percent), as well as the procurement of eggs (-32 percent); only the procurement of meat poultry was up by 4.5 percent in the previous month over January of last year. If no timely reasonable solution is found, the beef surplus, which we see in agriculture, can quickly destabilize the basic proportions in animal production and create a risk that, all of a sudden we will not be able to find meat on the market.

At the end of January, there were 119,600 unplaced job seekers in the CSFR, that is, 40,500 persons more than by the end of December 1990. The unemployment rate (expressed as the percentage of people that are able to work) reached 1.5 percent. Supplementary benefits were collected by 66,600 persons at the end of January, of this, 34,800 persons in the Slovak Republic.

There was a total of 58,400 open positions by the end of January, of this, only 9,700 positions in the Slovak Republic. In most cases, almost 90 percent, these were positions for laborers.

State Banks Statistics on Money in Circulation

AU2102134291

[Editorial Report] Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 19 February on page 1 publishes a chart (two by four inches) on "the development of money in circulation" in 1990. The chart, which is attributed to Czechoslovak State Bank sources, shows that the aggregate volume of money in circulation reached 73.653 billion korunas [Kcs] at the end of 1990, Kcs5.6 billion more than at the end of 1989 and about 20 billion more than in the mid-eighties (the figure for the end of 1985 was Kcs53.967 billion). According to an explanatory comment, the "rapid rise" in withdrawals from savings accounts in the months of November and December accounted for the entire 1990 increase in the volume of money in circulation.

Cerveny Notes Decline in Trade With USSR

LD2102180191 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Summary] Many Czechoslovak enterprises are now experiencing great difficulties in marketing their output. This applies in particular to enterprises oriented for many years to the Soviet market. Zdenek Cerveny, deputy federal minister of foreign trade, talks about the state of our trade with the Soviet Union.

"While in 1986 the Soviet Union's proportion of our foreign trade was 44 percent, in 1990 this proportion was only 23 percent. This downward trend will undoubtedly continue in 1991. The Soviet economy is in a situation where for a considerable amount of time it has been unable to pay fully for Czechoslovak exports. This is sometimes attributed to political relations, but this is not the case. This matter is based purely on the unfavorable situation in the Soviet economy. Intensive return to the monopoly of foreign trade and to the strict control of foreign trade is discussed in the Soviet Union. This will without a doubt jeopardize the opportunity of our foreign trade to deal with individual Soviet republics. "We have lost 25 billion korunas [Kcs] in marketing goods in former CEMA member countries, but over last year we managed to boost sales to countries with a market economy by Kcs24 billion. Last year we succeeded in selling to the West many of the items formerly earmarked for the East. One is hopeful that this will happen this year as well, despite the difficulties in which Czechoslovak enterprises find themselves."

Pithart Expresses Views on State Setup

LD2102231291 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1830 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Statement by Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart at a news conference following a session of the Czech Government on 20 February; place not given—recorded]

[Text] As you know, the government, unlike the Czech National Council, has been dealing with the problem of territorial organization very intensely for many months. The stance of the government has not changed, but it became much more clear-cut toward a land setup with self-administering elements, that is, not only a land-administering office, which we considered in December, with the idea that it could start operating from 1 February. We do not want a mere land adminstration office, but a land administration office with a self-administering partner, which I dare not define at this moment. And if we could consider more than the territory of the Czech Republic, we clearly said that we see as an acceptable variant the federative setup, which some people call a three-sided federation; but this is premature as the number of sides is not defined in advance. We informed the Czech National Council about this stance of the Czech Government.

I would like to point out that while for us this is a matter with which we are well acquainted, the Czech National Council has never discussed this problem before, because it had many other pressing tasks. I say this because it cannot be excluded that it was possible to deal with this problem before in one of the committees or commissions. However, this did not happen, and I see it as quite natural that the Czech National Council has not fully identified with our recommendation and has decided to look into all alternatives at the same time; however, it included the word, "without delay" in its resolution. This means it is aware of how pressing this task is.

I did not and do not think that the Czech National Council is against the standpoint of the government, but I understand that the Council wants to consider the matter in its entirety. It was interpreted that I voted against my own proposal, that is, against the proposal of the government.

There is no disagreement, and it is not true that things have come back to where they were last June, when the Czech National Council made its first statement on Moravia by condemning the abolition of the land system. I intend to present a standpoint on this at the next meeting of the Plenum of the Czech National Council on Wednesday.

Civic Forum Democratic Club Established

AU2102155891 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 19 Feb 91 p 2

[CTK report: "A Civic Forum Democratic Club in Brno"]

[Text] The Civic Forum Democratic Club [Demokraticky Klub Obcanskeho Fora] has been established in Brno. It issued a statement yesterday which said, among other things: "We cannot continue hating one another and having personal disputes. We must use our common sense again and be responsible. This is why we decided, after a profound evaluation of the situation, to recommend that the Civic Forum Republican Assembly refuse the proposals from Lany and decide that the Civic Forum be preserved as a movement instead. Putting the proposals from Lany into practice would cause the Civic Forum to leave the political scene and it would bring about a more pronounced destabilization of political life in Czechoslovakia. To solve the Civic Forum's crisis, it is not the most important thing whether membership involving various obligations is introduced or whether the current practice of keeping a record of supporters is preserved. The Civic Forum cannot solve its crisis in any other way than by assuming a clear form that is based on the movement's principal policy statement documents and by clearly defining the jurisdiction of its various bodies and their mutual relations.

Civic Forum Facing Split at Congress

LD2102232191 Prague CTK in English 2037 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 21 (CTK)—The Civic Forum, the strongest Czech political movement and leader of the struggle to overthrow the communist regime in late 1989, faces a fateful decision this Saturday—to maintain with certain modifications its original form, or to split itself in two.

Two different proposals for resolving the movement's crisis will be debated at an extraordinary Civic Forum (OF) congress in Prague on February 23.

Two weeks ago President Vaclav Havel, one of the movement's founders, organised a meeting of officials representing OF's two wings—the Democratic Right and the Liberal Club. It was agreed then that OF would split into two parts, which would then combine to form a firm coalition until the parliamentary elections, scheduled to take place in the second half of 1992.

The OF officals agreed that neither group would have the right to the original name of Civic Forum, which received about half of all votes in the Czech Republic in last year's parliamentary elections. But the name would not disappear completely as, according to OF chairperson Vaclav Klaus, the name will be left to "a supra-coalitional umbrella grouping, expressing itself culturally rather than politically".

Those who oppose the liquidation of the Civic Forum as a broad association of politically diverse groups have joined to form an "initiative for the preservation of OF as a movement". In a declaration issued February 16 the initiative proposed that Civic Forum [should] complete membership lists, which has so far not been done at all. Delegates to the congress would then actually represent the movement and this Saturday's congress would be a mere working session for OF delegates.

The initiative refuses to recognise the decision to split OF into two wings, saying "it ignores the existence and the rights of those who support Civic Forum as a movement, and whose representatives were excluded from the negotiations (with Havel)".

According to the proposal for OF to split into two groups, supporters of the Democratic Right would take the name "Civic Democratic Party" and supporters of the Liberal Club would group themselves as the "Civic Movement", explained Civic Forum Vice Chairperson Lubor Kinst. Kinst himself is spokesperson for the group of Civic Forum officials who would belong to the second wing.

According to the Kinst group, those who support the idea of Civic Forum as a party rather than a movement believe that the transition of Czechoslovak society from one system to another requires the leadership of a party

with firm structures. The basis of freedom is the functioning market, and once the transformation to a market economy is complete, all other democratic freedoms may be fully implemented.

The other wing emphasises the full development of democratic freedoms, rather than the market, as the basis for the transformation of society. Rule of law and human rights are the guarantee of democratic freedoms, in their view.

In today's "RUDE PRAVO", Jaroslav Sabata, one of the founders of Civic Forum and a minister in the Czech Government, suggests a "strategy of civic understanding" for OF. Sabata is considered to be a supporter of maintaining OF as a movement.

"If this strategy wins out, everyone will benefit, all democratic forces ... Under the pressure of various forces and circumstances the Civic Forum has deviated from this strategy. Only by returning to it can the conflicts that have broken out among (the Civic Forum's) ranks be overcome", says Sabata.

If Klaus succeeds in forming a right-oriented, vertically structured party, says Sabata, "a troublesome conflict with superficial and incalculable radicalism awaits him". Sabata criticises both the Liberal Club, led by deputy prime ministers Jiri Dienstbier and Pavel Rychetsky, and the Democratic Right for having unclear agendas.

Civic Forum Vice Chairperson Milan Kondr, a supporter of the Democratic Right's program, said today on Czechoslovak radio that the intitative for preserving OF as a movement does not stand a chance of pushing through its agenda at the congress this Saturday. In his opinion the congress will result in the emergence of two groups working together.

Open Letter by Deputy Zeman to OF Assembly

AU2102160891 Prague CTK in English 1134 GMT 19 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 19 (CTK)—The intentions to build a law-observing state and foreign policy are the only spheres where the Civic Forum election program is being successfully fulfilled, says prominent Czechoslovak prognosticator and deputy in the federal parliament Milos Zeman (OF).

In an open letter addressed to the forthcoming Civic Forum Congress Milos Zeman writes that "In all the other spheres we do not fulfill what we have promised". He mostly attacks the implementation of the economic reform and says that "Instead of the estimated growth our national product has been declining, the currency is being devalued. Unemployment begins to grow at a rate which could produce serious social conflicts..."

He further recalls that "in the election program we proclaimed that we do not only wish to praise the values of market economy, that the OF would consider such an approach immoral. This immorality has become reality".

Zeman recommends that the dissolution of the OF should be prevented and proposes that Jan Urban should be elected new chairman of the Civic Forum. (Jan Urban was OF spokesman 1989-1990, representative of the OF Coordination Center Council from February to June 1990, and now he is a publicist).

Moravian Deputies Boycott Czech National Council

AU2102150191 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 20 Feb 91 p 2

[From the "Minutes of the Day" column]

[Text] Deputies for the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia [HSD-SMS] will not, until further notice, participate in the work of the Czech National Council [CNR]. This decision was reached at a meeting of the HSD-SMS Club of Deputies in Olomouc yesterday. According to Jan Kadlec, the club's chairman, the HSD-SMS Club of Deputies is no longer a coalition partner of the Civic Forum in the CNR.

Carnogursky Deems Coalition With OF Unrealistic

AU2102192091 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 15 Feb 91 p 13

[Interview with Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement and first deputy prime minister of the Slovak Republic, by Jozef Sitko; place and date not given: "The Christian Democratic Movement's Ideas About the Constitutional Arrangement of the State"—reprinted from the No. 7 issue of the weekly SLOBODNY PIATOK]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Sitko] What are the Christian Democratic Movement's [KDH's] views regarding the federal arrangement of the state as opposed to the confederal arrangement?

[Carnogursky] This issue has not yet been completely clarified [within the KDH]. However, I do not regard as decisive the name that we choose for the form of our future alliance but rather the nature of the powers that the republics will cede to the common bodies.

[Sitko] Is the idea that has come from Bohemia of a tripartite federation composed of Bohemia, Moravia-Silesia, and Slovakia acceptable to the representatives of the KDH?

[Carnogursky] We would agree with such a constitutional arrangement of the state only if the outvoting of Slovakia on important questions of constitutional law were ruled out. Such an arrangement would only be acceptable on the level of a confederation.

[Sitko] What is your attitude to the eventuality of the KDH's exclusive coalition with the Civic Forum's right wing?

[Carnogursky] It seems, judging from the political expressions of the Civic Forum right wing, that the main

area of dispute between them and us would be their overly monetarist economic policy. These differences are at present sufficiently large enough to render a specific coalition between the KDH and the Civic Forum's right wing unrealistic, for the time being. A certain form of coalition exists even today, of course, because our ministers in the federal government sit there alongside Vaclav Klaus.

We must realize that the meaning of the terms right-of-center and left-of-center in Slovakia is relatively different from their meaning in Bohemia. In Bohemia, both terms are associated almost exclusively with a certain type of economic policy. In Slovakia, on the other hand, they denote, to a large degree, one's stand on the Slovak national question. The Czech and Slovak meanings of the terms right-of-center or right wing are therefore scarcely compatible.

[Sitko] Are you not afraid of uncontrolled social and national explosions as a result of the steep rise of prices, inflation, and the radicalization of political life into right-wing and left-wing extremes? Cannot a situation similar to that in the Soviet Union arise here under adverse circumstances?

[Carnogursky] Your question tempts one to give a laconic reply: It can.

Carnogursky Opposes Supremacy of Slovak Laws

AU2102194691 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 19 Feb 91 p 13

["Excerpt" of interview with Jan Carnogursky, first deputy prime minister of the Slovak Republic and chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement, by an unidentified reporter of SLOVAK V AMERIKE (Slovak in America); place and date not given: "Preference for Constitutional Steps"; reprinted from issue No. 10 of the periodical SLOVAK V AMERIKE]

[Text] [SLOVAK V AMERIKE] The Slovak League in the United States, along with [other] major Slovak compatriots' organizations, recommends to the Slovak National Council and the Slovak Republic Government that the Slovak National Council declare the sovereignty of the Slovak Republic and the supremacy of Slovak National Council laws over federal laws. What is your and the Christian Democratic Movement's stand on this issue?

[Carnogursky] The declaration of the sovereignty of the Slovak Republic and of the supremacy of Slovak National Council laws over federal ones would constitute a breach of the valid CSFR Constitution. It would be a dangerous step in that it could set off an avalanche of other illegal steps and lead to the international isolation of Slovakia. Slovakia would lose the international legal guarantees of its borders and, given the present dramatic international situation, we are not sure that we would be able to safeguard the security of the population of Slovakia on our own. A session of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] held last December adopted a resolution placing the KDH Presidium and representatives under the obligation to give priority to constitutional steps over unconstitutional steps in dealing with disputed issues between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic.

Commentary on Federal Constitution's Philosophy

AU2102160091 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 19 Feb 91 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "A Rocky Road Toward Trust"]

[Text] Not even the second round of talks held at Prague Castle on the new federal constitution provided Civic Forum politicians with any reason to rid themselves of the alarm caused by the Christian Democratic Movement's [KDH] proposal to constitute the Czechoslovak federation on the principle of a state agreement between the republican representatives of both sovereign nations. They consider this proposal to be a confederalist concept. Therefore, with reference to the still valid Constitution, they reject the Christian Democratic plan for coexistence between Czechs and Slovaks in a joint state. They were not even convinced by the point of view expressed by KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky that the federation "continues to remain alternative No. 1."

Prague politicians certainly have no less faith in Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar who, last summer, also referred to the possibility of concluding a state agreement as a variant for the constitutional arrangement of relations between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart also noticed that in his recent television address he talked indirectly about a confederation which "until now Mr. Carnogursky had reserved for himself." According to Pithart's evaluation, Meciar's reaction to the situation in the federal legislature is "a view from a great distance and I would say that he wants to say something different than he is saying, but I do not know what."

Perhaps the Czech prime minister's allusions, in this connection, referred to the possibility of holding early legislative elections. If Meciar was striving for such a move, I do not know whether the KDH would not achieve the best results because—at the moment—the Christian Democrats are the most consolidated political force in Slovakia. If they were given a chance to measure their strength against their current coalition partners through the ballot box, then voters would certainly give them credit for so persistently emphasizing the national elements of their political program.

The crux of the dispute about the philosophy of the federal constitution in fact hinges on whether all the interested parties are willing to recognize the priority of the national republics' sovereignty in relation to the federal bodies' sovereignty. An agreement was concluded on this principle in Trencianske Teplice. This agreement eventually ended in the so-called jurisdiction

crisis in the federal legislature. Only respect for this principle can guarantee Slovaks that they will be the potentially stronger Czechs' equal partners.

The current Czech approach toward all Slovak initiatives—concerning the nontraditional arrangement of the Czechoslovak state—is marked by a lack of consciousness about independent Czech statehood. The fact that Czechs do not know how to come to terms with some of their complexes from 1938-39—when an independent Slovak state was established on the ruins of Czechoslovakia—also creates a more negative effect. A great deal is being said about a joint road toward Europe, but—for the reasons mentioned above and in the words of Vratislav Vanicek from LIDOVE NOVINY—nothing has, so far, been done about "reinforcing Czechoslovakia as a supranational union of two civic and historically established state entities."

Meciar on Slovak Foreign Relations, Restitution

AU2202101991

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 19 February on pages 1 and 3, under the headline "Are We Going To Save or To Disrupt the Republic," publishes a 2,600-word interview with Vladimir Meciar, Slovak Republic prime minister, by Peter Fridner. The interview took place in Bratislava "at the beginning of the week," and the questions focused on the prime minister's recent visits to Hungary and Yugoslavia and on domestic affairs. Although the visit to Hungary was a success, Meciar mentions two remaining controversial problems: the opening of the Gabcikovo power-plant project which, according to Meciar, has to be dealt with by a joint commission of the Slovak National Council and the Hungarian National Assembly, and the problem of returning the historical and artistic shrines. Regarding the problem of ethnic minorities, the Slovak prime minister says that his side has not changed its attitude. "No state can assume responsibility for citizens living in the territory of another state, even if it is the state which these people or their ancestors originally came from. The concern of each state should be its minorities in its own territory." According to Meciar, "this line of argument was accepted." Asked about the possibility of exoneration for the Hungarians deported after 1945, Meciar says that this is a complex issue because of the 1938 deportation of Slovaks, and it will be dealt with by a special Slovak-Hungarian legislative commission.

Speaking about his trip to Yugoslavia, Meciar observes that this country has a multitude of domestic problems. The situation was explained to the Slovak delegation, and Meciar interprets it as "The bottom line for us is that we must endeavor to have good business relations with all republics constituting Yugoslavia." Yugoslavia also serves Meciar as an example that a federation of more than two republics necessarily faces more problems.

Asked about the role of Slovakia in the integration of European regions, the Slovak prime minister describes his republic's own initiative. The Slovak legislature will propose to the legislatures of other republics and regions that a meeting of regional representatives take place in Slovakia. Some agreements have already been reached, and the Slovak government is negotiating an early meeting with other state formations of a similar character so they can "discuss the position of similar formations and the prospects for Europe in 15 to 20 years." So far, according to Meciar, the idea of a small European nations' meeting has been well received.

The interviewer observes that the Slovak involvement in foreign relations is not always welcome in Prague. Meciar replies that "Slovakia has its objective needs," and he continues by expressing his dissatisfaction with the way these "needs" have been handled by the federation. "It was logical for us to form an independent republic body to satisfy the foreign-contact demands. We agreed on some things in the power-sharing laws, and if there is a fault, then it lies in the fact that so far it has not been possible to fully realize the power-sharing laws. For the future, I see the foreign sphere as a divided area of activity. It would not be possible to leave everything to the federation. The extent of federal jurisdiction will be the subject of further negotiation."

In the next part of the interview, Meciar reiterates his arguments against the draft of the restitution law that is currently being discussed in the Federal Assembly.

The last two questions deal with the media. Meciar claims that when the Federal Television broadcasts excerpts from his speeches, they come out negatively. "I even believe that they negatively influence public opinion. I take this into consideration, but there are no means of preventing it." Thus, Meciar campaigns for an uncensored block of Slovak information in the Federal Television broadcast that would provide "the Czech citizen with the only means of learning the truth about Slovak politics." The Slovak prime minister is convinced that if the Czech citizen were objectively informed, the general disposition in the Czech regions toward Slovakia would be different. He concludes the interview with a description of his family outing in Prague, during which he was approached by many Czechs expressing their regard for Slovakia and "a certain lady [who] said that if she were to emigrate, she would certainly want to go to Slovakia."

Miklosko Explains Slovak Restitution Objections

AU2102152891 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 19 Feb 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko by S. Cech; place and date not given: "The Government Draft By Means of a Compromise?"; first paragraph is ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY introduction]

[Excerpt] Yesterday morning Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek held a meeting with Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa, Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky, and Slovak National Council [SNR] Chairman Frantisek Miklosko. They discussed the course of action to be taken in today's joint session of the Chamber of People and Chamber of Nations in the Federal Assembly. In essence, they briefed A. Dubcek on the results of Sunday's [17 February] meeting with President Vaclav Havel. Prior to this meeting, we asked Frantisek Miklosko about the point of view adopted by the SNR apropos restitution.

[Miklosko] The issue under discussion in today's plenary session—I have in mind the government draft law on extrajudicial rehabilitation—is, from Slovakia's point of view, quite simple. If property nationalized before 1945 is to be returned, we have to realize that very little of Slovakia would be left. There are many Hungarian families here—such as the Pallfys, Esterhazys, and others—who owned almost all of Slovakia. It was originally agreed that we would go no further back than 1948 in the above-mentioned law. However, a proposal was then introduced to make an exception. That is, legislation formally executed in this regard after 1948—although it was introduced before 1948—should also relate to the subject of restitution. This second condition is unacceptable to Slovakia.

It is necessary to realize that the process of abolishing property in Slovakia began immediately after the end of World War II when, in essence, the Slovak state was abolished. Slovakia found itself in the role of a defeated state or nation and no one had any problems with the legal niceties of the matter. The legal aspect was dealt with after 1948. Therefore, the exception that has been discussed—this would be a certain compromise between the government draft of the above-mentioned law and the deputies' initiative draft—is unacceptable to Slovakia.

[Cech] Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar expressed his opinion on the entire matter on Sunday's television news bulletin. Is the SNR's point of view identical to his statement?

[Miklosko] I perceive the statement made by Prime Minister V. Meciar on Sunday in the following way: If what was originally proposed by a group of deputies ever gets off the ground, an insolvable problem will arise in Slovakia. However, I think this is also a very delicate issue for the Czech nation. What I mean by this is all the property in border areas. No one will probably want to get involved in this.

The issue really is that we should not become anyone's province. Of course, I do not mean that we would become a province of Prague, but a province of some of the families I mentioned.

On Sunday we held talks with the president. I think that the points of view held by V. Meciar, P. Rychetsky, and M. Calfa were cleared up and that, in this common spirit, we will appear before the deputies' clubs where we will ask for support for the original government draft as far as extrajudicial rehabilitation is concerned. I repeat once again: Restitution from 1948 without exception.

This is a purely practical, and in no way political, problem that could turn into an insolvable situation. Public Against Violence movement and Christian Democratic Movement deputies will proceed in this spirit. I am convinced of this. I do not know what other situation could arise; however, if no agreement is reached, it could transpire that no law will be adopted. [passage omitted]

Proposal To Counter 'Discrimination' of Slovaks

AU2102155391

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 19 February on page 3 carries a 1,200-word speech by Jan Klepac, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council, delivered at the 14 February Slovak National Council meeting. In the speech, which is published under the headline "Let Us Establish Civic Minority Councils," Klepac presents a proposal for overcoming the "unfavorable consequences" of the results of local elections in the ethnically mixed parts of southern Slovakia.

Klepac says that the application of the majority electoral system in the November local elections (a system that the Christian Democratic Movement, which Klepac represents in the Slovak legislature, wanted to modify, but to no avail) is already showing "unfavorable consequences in ethnically mixed villages and towns, consequences that are dangerous for democracy." As he goes on to say, "members of minorities living in ethnically mixed communities are becoming second-class [menejpravny] citizens because local self-administrative bodies elected and formed on the basis of the majority electoral system take no account of their rights and legitimate civic interests." According to Klepac, this is demonstrated by "complaints" that have been addressed to him by Slovaks living in the largely Hungarian-speaking districts of Galanta, Nove Zamky, and Rimavska Sobota. These Slovaks fear "oppression in their own country" because, in many cases, they do not have any representatives in the local bodies.

Klepac admits that the local bodies formed on the basis of the election results are legitimate and that their composition cannot be "modified." To counterbalance the absence of minority representatives in the local bodies and ensure respect for the "rights and interests" of minorities at the local level, he proposes the establishment of "civic minority councils." Under Klepac's proposal, these councils ought to be set up on the basis of a Slovak Government decree in all communities in which the minority accounts for at least 20 percent of the population. These councils would be composed of members of the minority, and they should have the right to submit "initiatives" to the elected local bodies. Klepac leaves the issue of the councils' composition "open," saying that they could either be elected by members of

the minority, formed "informally" on the basis of "private initiative," or made up of electoral candidates for the minority who did not qualify for the local representative body.

Speaking about the rights the civic minority councils should have, Klepac says: "The government decree must specify which suggestions or materials submitted by the civic minority council must be included in the agenda of the local representative body's sessions, even if the local representative body itself did not initiate these suggestions or shows no interest in dealing with the issue concerned. It is evident that the civic minority councils' suggestions will be aimed at preventing political, national, and, as the case may be, economic discrimination of minorities as well as disregard for their other legitimate interests. The civic minority council must have the right to convene an assembly of members of the ethnic minority in the community at any time without requesting the local representative body's consent and must be able to discuss at this assembly urgent problems of life in the community with respect to civil rights and liberties. The government decree must place the local representative body under the obligation to hear the civic minority council's stand prior to any decision that pertains to the rights and interests of the minority and could jeopardize them."

Klepac is confident that the acceptance of his proposal would "help renew trust and enhance mutual coexistence of citizens of diverse nationalities in the linguistically mixed areas of the Slovak Republic."

Moravia To Declare Sovereignty if Demands Not Met

AU2102122891 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 19 Feb 91 p 2

["ha"-signed report: "Only General Considerations; Meeting of the Political Commission for Drafting the Constitution"]

[Excerpts] Members of the Political Commission for Drafting the Constitution held their fourth meeting in the legislative building yesterday. As Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the commission, told us, the commission has been presented with six standpoints on the constitutional arrangement of our state. [passage omitted] The current discussions concern only general problems—the advantages and disadvantages of the federal system, the land setup, the confederation, etc. [passage omitted]

Zdenek Kessler (Civic Forum) told us that yesterday's fourth meeting discussed primarily the method of Moravia's integration. [passage omitted]

And because the issue of Moravia and Silesia is a hot one, we asked also Vaclav Tomis, deputy for the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia, for his opinion. He is convinced that Moravians and Silesians have always been oppressed and that they only want what is due to them: "If an agreement on a tripartite federation [consisting of Bohemia, Moravia-Silesia, and Slovakia] is not reached, Moravia and Silesia will form a sovereign state," he said.

Parties Call for Independent Media

LD2102201191 Prague CTK in English 1834 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 21 (CTK)—Eight Czechoslovak political parties and movements abroad asked today for an early drafting of the laws on Czechoslovak radio, Czechoslovak television and the Czechoslovak news agency, which would ensure independence and demonopolization of the media.

The eight parties include the People's Party, the Socialist Party, the Social-Democratic Party, the Agrarian Party, and Movement for Self-Government Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia and another four small parties.

In a statement approved at their session today the parties demanded that the media conclude agreements with the respective parties before the laws come into effect.

Energy Cooperation Agreement Signed With Denmark

AU2102145591 Prague CTK in English 1634 GMT 19 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 19 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy signed today an "agreement on cooperation in the energy sphere" with Danish Minister of Industry and Energy Anne Birgitte Lundholt.

The agreement paves the way for a new stage in Czechoslovak-Danish cooperation in this area, aiming to develop economic, industrial, scientific, technological and environmental cooperation between the two countries.

The Danish minister also gave Minister Dlouhy an overview of funds available from Denmark and the European Community for trial projects concerned with energy.

Interior Ministry Official on Refugee Problem

AU2102153291 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 19 Feb 91 p 5

[Interview with Judith Toth, deputy director of the Interior Ministry's Office for Refugee Affairs, by Kurcz; place and date not given: "How Many Refugees Are There in Hungary?"; first paragraph is MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Excerpts] We are about to face the new migration wave of the 20th century. Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland are equally threatened, once the wave of Soviet emigration begins. Some people estimate that 7 or 8 million Soviet citizens will choose to emigrate.

[Kurcz] How many refugees are there currently in Hungary?

[Toth] We have no idea. Perhaps no one knows the exact figure....

Uncontrollable Numbers

[Kurcz] Nevertheless, what did statistics show for January?

[Toth] Approximately 900 clients came to the Office for Refugee Affairs in January 1991.

[Kurcz] Those people had probably just arrived. Do you mean to say that not even the Office for Refugee Affairs knows how many refugees crossed Hungary's borders in 1990?

[Toth] We can only sum up the number of clients we had,and add on the number of cases we dealt with, but we cannot check the exact number of refugees currently staying in Hungary.

[Kurcz] In that case, let me ask you as an expert: How many refugees do you think there are in Hungary at the moment?

[Toth] A distinction has to be made between two groups. First, there are those who have been granted refugee status. This group is made up of 3,000 people who are probably on Hungarian territory right now. Second, there are those who benefit from territorial asylum. These people have been coming to Hungary in a steady flow since 1988; they cannot be deported to their country of origin against their will because general conditions there are so poor and political and other circumstances are disadvantageous. The people in this second category have not become refugees either because they did not apply for refugee status, because it would be impossible to grant them refugee status at the moment, or for various other reasons. If they choose to leave or to go back home, we will not stop them, of course; but the Hungarian police cannot force these people to leave, either. The second group is made up of at least 30,000 people, but figures could also reach 33,000 or more, because there are still a lot of families to be reunited....

[Kurcz] Are Romanian citizens still first on the list? What nationality are most of the refugees? Where do the homeless, the persecuted, and the happy-go-lucky come from?

[Toth] Some 90 percent of these people, or even more, come from Romania. Within this category, 70 to 75 percent are ethnic Hungarians. Apart from that, increasing numbers are arriving from the Soviet Union, mainly from Sub-Carpathia and the Ukraine. People are also arriving from Albania, Bulgaria, and Turkey. We even have non-Europeans, people from Somalia and Angola.... [passage omitted]

[Kurcz] How many refugee camps are there in Hungary at the moment?

[Toth] We have no camps whatsoever. We only have three stations for receiving refugees.

[Kurcz] How many people can be accommodated in these stations, either in the long term or the short term?

[Toth] Under normal conditions, we can temporarily assist 700 refugees. In the old days, we learned some bitter lessons about states of emergency. Consequently, we are now experienced enough to be able to accommodate several thousand people within a matter of hours by opening "camps" and temporary lodgings that are currently locked up. [passage omitted]

Defense Official on Reductions in Army Personnel

AU2102171791 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 19 Feb 91 p 1

[Interview with Deputy State Secretary Mihaly Beothy by Gaal; place and date not given: "Reductions in the Army"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] In his decree number 244/1990, Defense Minister Lajos Fur decided to pension off all professional officers aged 55 and over. Issued in December 1990, this decree caused bitterness among all the officers concerned. Our newspaper interviewed Mihaly Beothy.

[Beothy] If most of the officers who have reached retirement age are systematically asked to stay on, this has a negative effect on members of the younger generation. Minister Fur believes that officers who have reached retirement age, who have benefited from all advancement possibilities, and who have earned a sufficient income, should stand up and leave. This is neither a punishment nor a negative assessment but the opposite.

[Gaal] How many officers will be affected by the decree?

[Beothy] According to our calculations, there are currently approximately 200 professional soldiers above retirement age in the Hungarian Army. In January 1991, Minister Fur issued an additional decree whereby officers under 60 could be exempted from compulsory retirement, on the basis of individual assessment.

Clearly, health personnel, including Army doctors, require different treatment. The number of exceptions in this group will probably be quite high.

[Gaal] How many generals will be affected by the decree?

[Beothy] The four generals who work for the Ministry of Defense are all under 55. There are currently 39 generals serving in the Army's leading institutions. Approximately 15 of these generals celebrated their sixtieth birthday over the last few months, and they have already been notified that they should prepare to hand over their duties.

Arms Factory Officials on Production, Trade

AU2102110591 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 18 Feb 91 p 5

[Interview with Latorcai Janos, general director of the Firearm and Gas Equipment Factory, and Jozsef Varga, executive director of the aforementioned factory, by Andras Kegyes; place and date not given: "The Machine Gun Factory No Longer Manufactures Machine Guns"—first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction; individual respondents not identified]

[Excerpts] The location is the former Lampuska Factory, currently known as the Firearm and Gas Equipment Factory [FEG]. According to current speculations, this firm also manufactured the machine guns that have recently given Hungarian foreign policy a lot of experience, hopefully experience that can be used later.

[Kegyes] FEG is a state enterprise. Will it continue to be a state firm?

[Answer] Privatization is a national goal but, at the moment, there is no high-level decision or information on whether arms production can be privatized or not. Without a decision, our factory is sliding into a crisis.

[Kegyes] Does that mean your factory could become bankrupt? What are the causes?

[Answer] Yes. The causes are as follows: a reduced market, and a considerable decrease in domestic demand because we still lack an arms law that would create a clear situation. On the other hand, the U.S. Congress decision that bans trade with Warsaw Pact countries that would enhance these countries' military capacity is still in force. We have not been manufacturing machine guns for two years. This is a big problem for the FEG, not only because of the loss in income, but also because maintaining the machines, the technology, and the staff costs us a lot; furthermore these expenses are not covered by production. [passage omitted]

[Kegyes] Have you ever had any information on the fate of your machine guns?

[Answer] Not in every case. Authorized foreign trade enterprises carried out the market research and the exports. We received the specific orders, and we had to fill them.

[Kegyes] Was the FEG the only one to manufacture machine guns in Hungary?

[Answer] We would know if others were also involved in such production. The machine guns used by the Hungarian Army are domestically produced by the FEG. [passage omitted]

[Kegyes] Could even a single weapon leave your factory without being properly documented?

[Answer] This is impossible. On the basis of our record books, which note serial numbers, we can trace back the fate of any of our weapons. [passage omitted]

IMF Approves Three-Year Credit Program

LD2102135191 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] [Announcer] The IMF had approved the three-year credit program for Hungary, the first agreement of this kind between the IMF and a former socialist country. Gyorgy Bolgar reports from New York.

[Bolgar] We received more than $1.6 billion credit from the IMF, much more than on any previous occasions. To be more precise, we will receive it over three years because the agreement approved by the IMF Directorate is for such a time period.

In accordance with this, we can call in $650 million in four installments in the present year, the rest next year and thereafter. The basis of the agreement is a three-year program in which Hungary undertakes to establish the market system and liberalization to speed up of privatization and introduce budgetary and national insurance reforms. The credit for the present year is higher than for the following two years because the collapse of the CMEA market and the Gulf crisis place extra burdens on the Hungarian economy and the international financial organization in providing assistance to cope with these as well.

State Farm Workers Stage Two-Hour Strike

LD2102115191 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1020 GMT 21 Feb 91

[(Andrzej Rudnik) report from Koszalin; date not given]

[Text] As of yesterday the government had not started negotiations with the National Strike Committee Presidium, which has its headquarters in Rzepin. The voivodship coordination teams throughout Poland today are staging a protest from 1200 to 1400. That action is going to be carried out by columns of agricultural vehicles traveling through the streets of voivodship towns and in front of state administration headquarters. In Pila, for example, the striking state farm employees will gather beginning at 1030 on Victory Square, and will march to the voivodship offices where they want to meet with the voivoda and hand him their demands.

More that 7,000 people employed in 20 state farms had joined the strike in Pila Voivodship by today. In Slupsk Voivodship 86 of 250 state farms are on strike. There is a similar situation in Koszalin Voivodship.

If today's action by the state farm work forces does not induce the government to negotiate, the National Strike Committee Presidium will announce drastic forms of protest.

[Announcer] Ladies and gentlemen, the work forces of a total of more than 1,100 state farms in 27 voivodships are on strike. Among their demands are low-interest credits for agriculture.

Strikes, Protests Reportedly Spreading

LD2002235891 Warsaw PAP in English 2249 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 20—Inter-city bus (PKS) drivers from the central towns of Gniezno and Leszno today joined their colleagues from Poznan and Slupsk in strike, demanding higher wages, additional subsidies, and settlement of the issue of reduced fares.

Also strikes in state farms are spreading, with over 1,100 farms from 27 provinces protesting today.

Meanwhile, the Agriculture Ministry voiced its readiness for talks with all rural representations provided they operate lawfully.

A sit-in strike was staged today in the tape recorder factory in Lubartow, eastern Poland, in protest against a planned mass reduction of nearly a half of the crew.

As a result of negotiations on Tuesday and Wednesday, workers of the "Ursu" tractor factory in Warsaw returned to work, but the strike committee started occupation of some of the management offices. A 30-percent wage growth is their major postulate.

Solidarity in the airports enterprise today postponed a strike called for February 21 till Friday, February 22. In the meantime the strike committee is to hold talks with representatives of the Transport Ministry.

Meanwhile, the transport minister suspended Marek Kaczorowski, general manager of the airports due to the lack of progress in the negotiations.

Prolonged negotiations on pay issues are also the reason for turning the Solidarity factory commission in the "Konin" lignite mine, central Poland, into a strike committee and for maintaining a strike alert there.

A strike alert was also declared in the machine factory in Oztrzeszow, central Poland, this time in protest against the government's failure to set payment terms in trade with the Soviet Union, which hinders the factory's exports there.

Najder Says May Elections Are Still Possible

AU2102143391 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Feb 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with National Citizens' Committee Chairman Zdzislaw Najder by Tomasz Roguski; place and date not given: "We Need Political Determination"]

[Text] The Lech Walesa Citizens' Committee changed into the National Citizens' Committee at its 17 February meeting. In a letter to the committee, Lech Walesa stated that the committee was still needed in the run up to the parliamentary elections to motivate the public and shape political pluralism. Zdzislaw Najder was elected committee chairman:

[Roguski] The date of 26 May is now beginning to look very doubtful as a possible date for parliamentary elections. There are rumors that the election law is not quite ready, and that we must observe election timetable requirements. Do you think a May election is still possible?

[Najder] I think it is. According to calculations that were published in last Friday's [February 15] RZECZPOSPOLITA, it seems that we need 120-125 days to prepare for the elections. I do not agree. This shows a lack of political will and a desire to hide behind formalities. About 14 days are needed to set up the State Election Commission and the regional and local commissions. I do not see any reason why we cannot begin preparations before the elections are officially announced. Collections of signatures need not last 16 days, 10 will suffice. I do not understand why 20 days are needed for the registration of candidates, a week is enough. The printing of forms and posters will take 10 days and then we need 30 days for the election campaign itself. Thus, even when one adds the unfortunate 30-day interval between the time the election law is passed and its coming into force, we only require 84 days. If we count the remaining days from Monday [18 February], we still have 98 days left. No one can tell me that political will cannot shorten this time period and I am convinced that we do not need a whole month to familiarize ourselves with the election

law. In 1918, there was no election law. Within 17 days of independence, the government passed one, and the election was held two months after. The elections went well and the Parliament was a good one, but in those days we had political will.

[Roguski] Where do we lack the political will?

[Najder] Primarily in the Sejm. From mid-1990, it became crystal clear that our entry into Europe is being hindered by the fact that we had not had a free election. If I remember correctly, the "Solidarity" National Committee called for early elections. The Citizens' Committee movement, the Democratic Union, the Center Accord, and the Christian-National Union, and many other better known parties have all called for early elections. The deputies should have made their own calculations last year and estimated the time required to hold elections before 26 May, an important deadline, because of the papal visit. This was not done. It seems the Sejm did not take these declarations very seriously.

[Roguski] Why not?

[Najder] Some political groupings believe that they will gain rather than lose by delaying the election date. This is against the state's interest. We find ourselves in a critical situation, both internally and externally, and the Sejm, which is 66 percent unrepresentative anyway, is not answerable to anyone for this. On Friday, we saw a Sejm protest against the National Chamber of Control. The present Sejm is dangerous, because it is beginning to destabilize things. We need a Sejm that will be a stabilizing influence.

The Sejm's Constitution Commission is preparing a new constitution, although it is well known that most of the political commentators and the public have spoken out against the adoption of the new constitution by the present Sejm. The commission should draw the appropriate conclusions from this. I fully understand that the preparation of a constitution is a great honor, but duty comes first. The basic duty of this Sejm is to approve the election law and prepare for the next election. This has not been done, and now someone will have to answer to the people for this. If we do not succeed in holding elections before summer 1991, and it makes our situation more difficult, certain people will personally have to answer for it.

[Roguski] Will the recent statements made by the president on moving up the date of the elections have any influence?

[Najder] I very much hope they will. His statements have made people speak the truth. At our meeting it became apparent that many deputies were undecided whether they should exert pressure for early spring elections. The Constitution Commission is now saying that early elections are not possible. The president has put the spotlight on people and now we are beginning to hear facts and not vague declarations.

I have heard that there is a proposal to form a committee that would examine ways of moving up the date for the elections. There is also a proposal to submit a non-Sejm-prepared draft election law. One of our constitutional experts has said that this could be done in a matter of several days. Of course, any election law will have its faults and opponents, and one could take a year to prepare it. Nevertheless, we are still without an election law and we must finally decide on one.

Solidarity Candidate on Organization's Leadership

AU2202112291 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Feb 91 p 10

[Interview with Jan Rulewski, candidate for the post of "Solidarity" chairman, by Pawel Smolenski; place and date not given: "A New Slogan Is Needed"]

[Text] [Smolenski] In your opinion, will the election of a new "Solidarity" chairman be about different concepts of union activity or about personalities?

[Rulewski] I would prefer it to be a choice of concepts rather than people, but it is obvious that the chairman of the union should be someone who possesses a strong character, has proven himself, and is a good organizer.

[Smolenski] As you are in favor of choosing a concept, what should the "Solidarity" that emerges from the congress be like?

[Rulewski] At one time the union called on people to display solidarity in the face of totalitarianism. It was a slogan that united us, and thanks to its effectiveness, it now belongs to history. Today, we need a new slogan that will enable us to reap benefits from our victory.

We should concentrate on help and self-help. We should provide assistance in solving common problems, such as unemployment. That will not be possible without cooperating with the government, Parliament, political parties, and investors.

On the other hand, "Solidarity" must help the miners, for example, but it should be intelligent help. That means the union cannot back every demand that is made, especially those demands that, if fulfilled, could harm other social and occupational groups and even the whole country. We have to abandon a caste way of viewing "Solidarity" interests.

We have to fight this infernal Polish situation in which people threaten each other instead of helping each other.

The doctrine of help and self-help should be a guiding principle by which we abide every day. It should serve as the only answer to harmful divisions within the union, to having plant or branch interests settled in way that is to the detriment of everyone else and to the realization of personal political ambitions.

[Smolenski] The implication is that you are in favor of a region-based rather than a branch-based "Solidarity."

[Rulewski] That is not the right way to present the issue. The union should operate within a regional and a branch framework or within any other necessary form. The regional formula makes it possible to view the individual within a broader context. It means that the "Solidarity" member is tied to a particular plant but works within the local community. The regional setup is a "Solidarity" achievement that should not be lost.

[Smolenski] Do you see there being any possibility of cooperation between "Solidarity" and National Trade Union Confederation workplace chapters?

[Rulewski] Martial law in the workplace has to end as quickly as possible; there has to be an end to dividing people, people who often mechanically found themselves in non-"Solidarity" unions or joined them against their will. Divisions do not benefit "Solidarity," but only benefit activists of the Alfred Miodowicz type, activists who rose to prominence under martial law.

"Solidarity" should open itself up. We are the moral victors, which is why we should make the first move; however, we should give a dunce cap to all those who brought about the divisions.

I think "Solidarity" commissions in many factories are moving in this direction. I do not think the union's national ruling bodies should place any obstacles in their way.

[Smolenski] Many "Solidarity" activists maintain that the union should have its own parliamentary representation. It is being said that in the upcoming elections "Solidarity" will become the electoral campaign machine of the president's party or group.

[Rulewski] History shows that "Solidarity" has not really profited from elections, neither in Sejm or Senate elections or local government elections. Today, its representation is not good, so "Solidarity" should look for new, better representatives; however, these people cannot represent "Solidarity" interests alone, nor can they act as if they were one person. Perhaps it could be a representation made up of representatives of the union and of capital, as both the union and capital must solve their common problems together?

The "Solidarity" representation in Parliament must have a political initiative. This mean that the union should not be helpless if, for example, the liberal vision of the transformation of the Polish economy does not work out.

[Smolenski] You are considered an opponent of Lech Walesa.

[Rulewski] Lech Walesa removed the reasons for the differences between us when, following my criticism of the roundtable, "he bestowed his favor on me once again," and we found that we could cooperate. During the presidential elections, I backed Tadeusz Mazowiecki, because I respect the former prime minister for leading the country during that difficult period. No one can make me deny that I respect him for that.

I was always in favor of strengthening the "Solidarity" camp, from which both Walesa and Mazowiecki come, because I was afraid of the "Tyminskization" of Poland, and that is something of which I am still afraid. That is why I will continue to respect Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and I will cooperate with President Walesa.

[Smolenski] What could you tell us about those candidates who might be running against you?

[Rulewski] Andrzej Slowik stands for the wage demand aspect of the union; the "Solidarity" interest in a caste sense is what matters most to him. Tomasz Wojcik thinks along similar lines as I, or perhaps I think along similar lines as he. Bogdan Boruszewicz and Lech Kaczynski have yet to say what their vision of "Solidarity" is. Stanislaw Weglarz has never said anything, so I will not say anything about him. Marian Krzaklewski is very taken with the idea of a branch based union, but I think that we could persuade him to come over to our side.

ROAD Leader Views Movement's Situation

LD2102195491 Warsaw PAP in English 1840 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Szczecin, Feb. 21—Zbigniew Bujak, one of the leaders of the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action (ROAD) characterizing the current situation in the movement said that even top representatives of this organization present various programmes, but that, according to him, is a normal situation.

Bujak, addressing a meeting with journalists here today, said however that dangerous and harmful are opinions voiced by those politicians who speak about the Balcerowicz plan as the "one and only" programme and reject all alternatives. This reflects the need for a new political formation which would propose a new programme, said he.

Walesa's Advisers Discuss 'Most Urgent' Problems

LD2102200191 Warsaw PAP in English 1842 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 21—The Consultative Committee at President Lech Walesa presented today new reports concerning ways of solving the most urgent political and economic problems in Poland. [sentence as received]

As such, the committee regarded the loss of "governability" of the state, lack of social approval and support for the government's economic policy and external perils. One of the solutions is to clearly define the relations between the state administration bodies—the relations

between the president, the government and the Parliament, inclusive—a new parliament and in the future, a new constitution.

The committee also worked out an alternative socio-economic programme which despite the general continuation of the government policy in this field introduces some changes aimed at regaining social support.

Council of Ministers Discusses Joint Ventures

AU2102142691 Warsaw PAP in English 2148 GMT 19 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 19—The Council of Ministers, which met here today under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, adopted an important and awaited draft of new legislative regulations on companies with foreign parties.

The decisions proposed by the government create legal conditions for investing in Poland comparable to those offered by other countries interested in attracting foreign capital, give almost equal rights to Polish and foreign entities in opening and conducting economic activity, and create a chance of breaking with the tradition of socialist law. They also give a more effective protection of interests of the state in those areas in which foreign investments may endanger them.

It will no longer be required to obtain any permission to form a company, buy shares or stocks in companies subject to Polish law, or change the scope of activity.

The only exception to the new rule will refer to cases when the scope of activity might embrace areas important to the interests of the state like, for example, the defence industry.

The compulsory to-date minimum investment contribution to equity share capital will no longer be required from foreign investors (up till now it was 50 thousand dollars).

Stricter criteria of tax and customs exemptions will, however, be applied following the rule of unification of investment conditions. Three year tax holidays are no longer to be given automatically, and tax exemptions will depend on investing a minimum of two million ECU [European Currency Unit], according to the rule "the more you invest, the more tax benefits for you", on the operation of a company in areas given priority by the state, etc. The possibility of tax exemptions will exist till 1993.

In customs tariffs, the proposed changes are to prevent a profit-bringing turnover of commodities imported customs-free.

The scope of exemptions in this area is to be limited to means directly included in the equity share capital.

In another part of the meeting, the Council of Ministers dealt with international cooperation. Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski reported on the course and results of the Visegrad summit.

The Council of Ministers also discussed draft founding documents of the organization of international economic cooperation, which would replace the now-liquidated CMEA.

The Cabinet then adopted a resolution on the terms of getting and returning state-owned apartments by officials employed at state administration posts under which a person who stops to perform a state function has to return such an apartment in one month instead of six which was the case so far.

TV Management, Journalists Disagree Over Program

LD2002235991 Warsaw PAP in English 2300 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 20—Today's round of talks between the TV management and journalists of the second channel news bulletin Obserwator (observer), closed by the TV heads earlier this week, failed to produce agreement on a date of the return of the programme on the air.

The talks were preceded by a meeting of both sides with Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki held at the initiative of the premier.

Government spokesman Andrzej Zarebski said about the meeting that both sides seemed to show a conciliatory spirit.

But later on, the TV management rejected the Obserwator journalists' postulate to have the programme reinstated under its to-date boss Damian Kalbarczyk as of February 25, proposing a three-week time instead.

The views differed also on the future shape of the bulletin. According to the head of the TV second channel the programme can no longer be broadcast in its present form nor is the issue of its name resolved.

Importance of Visegrad Summit Viewed

AU2102120291 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Feb 91 p 2

[Katarzyna Kolodziejczyk commentary: "Better Together Than Alone"]

[Text] Anyone who expected the one-day conference between Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary in Visegrad, near Budapest, on 15 February to end in a political sensation will be disappointed. There is not going to be any new political structure. There will be no Central European Community, nor any trilateral federation. In a word, no sensation.

Nevertheless the tripartite meeting permits the conclusion that these three countries are not in any danger of

Balkanization—i.e. the danger of an outbreak of conflicts, for which there are plenty of reasons.

The three countries involved and Western political observers agree that destabilization and chaos are the greatest danger to Europe, especially European democracy. The Polish-Czechoslovak-Hungarian agreement on the need for cooperation with each other confirms an understanding of the fact that the future of European democracy hangs in the balance.

Several days ago, the three countries witnessed the strength and value of a common stance concerning their vital interests, because President Gorbachev's letter announcing the end of the Warsaw Pact was a response to a common desire by all three countries in this matter. It shows that synchronized activity makes things much easier.

Another factor motivating these countries to participate in joint activity is Western attitudes and expectations. At a news conference, Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall recalled that at the Paris CSCE talks, the West had admitted it had negative memories of small and medium-sized countries quarreling with each other, and said it expected them to come to terms with each other. There is no doubt that the mandate to hold talks with the EEC concerning associate membership has been issued to all three countries collectively, not to each of them individually. That is why Polish President Lech Walesa said in Budapest: "We are receiving signals that the West expects us to come to an agreement."

The disturbing course of events in the USSR and that country's uncertain future are certainly an incentive for trilateral cooperation. That is the reason why the main motive of this meeting of presidents, prime ministers, and foreign ministers was cooperation, whereby each country made it clear that the cooperation would not be aimed against any other country.

According to people who attended the meeting, the countries were actually surprised by their unanimous stance toward security, the Warsaw Pact, CEMA, the upcoming wave of immigrants from the East, the transit and withdrawal of Soviet forces, as well as the Gulf war and its consequences.

Secretary of State Janusz Ziolkowski observed that because of the speed and avalanche of international events, the participating countries fail to appreciate the historic dimension of this meeting. Skeptics, however, said that a certain reluctance toward institutionalized cooperation, noticeable during the meeting, is not the best possible omen for the future.

The Czechoslovak and Hungarian presidents' acceptance of President Walesa's renewed invitation to hold a meeting in Krakow next year can be considered a reaction to this uncertainty.

The first meeting between the three countries took place in Bratislava, a historic city. Visegrad is just as historic, because it was the venue of two congresses in 1335 and 1339, attended by King Casimir the Great of Poland, King John of Luxembourg of Bohemia, and King Charles Robert of Hungary. In 1364 in Krakow, Casimir the Great convened a third congress of Central European monarchs, which was important because it established the fortunes of this region over subsequent years. This congress gained wide renown due to, among other things, the great feast held by Mikolaj Wierzynek.

Let us hope that next year's meeting in Krakow wil be just as successful as Wierzynek's feast.

Soviet Refusal To Allow Inspection Protested

LD2102175891 Warsaw PAP in English 1624 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 21—In connection with the refusal by the commander-in-chief of the Northern Military Group, Gen. Viktor Dubynin, to carry out an inspection in the Group's units stationed in Poland, Poland's Foreign Ministry has protested over the refusal at the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

The aim of the inspection initially scheduled for Feb. 21-22 was to check whether there is no chemical weapon on Poland's territory. The consent granted earlier this month during a meeting of representatives of the Polish Foreign Ministry, Ministry of National Defence and the command of the Northern Military Group was withheld.

Poland in line with the Geneva decision to ban chemical weapons is ready to submit selected military units and production plants to international inspection.

PAP's reporter who tried to reach Dubynin to ask for the reasons of refusals was told that the general was out. A Polish expert who spoke on the condition of anonymity said that the refusal may be another political gesture on the part of Dubynin to show the sovereignty of the Army under his command vis-a-vis Polish authorities.

Body for Cooperation With Baltics Established

LD2102225391 Warsaw PAP in English 1906 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 21—Senator Tadeusz Klopotowski became chairman of the newly set-up parliamentary team for cooperation with Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia today.

Members of the team, deputies and senators, agreed that the new body will deal first of all with the gathering of information on Poland's relations with the three republics and will coordinate steps undertaken by parliamentarians and aimed to develop cooperation with Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

Government, Iasi Rail Workers Meet; Strike Ends

AU2102184091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1716 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/2/1991—After the talks held over February 18-21 between the representatives of the government and those of the Alliance of the Iasi Railway Branch Unions, in consideration of the solution found to the initial 20 claims plus another three, the steering committee of the Free Union Alliance of Iasi Railway Branch has decided to put an end to the strike the members of their union were on, today, February 21/2/1991, at 1600 hours, reads a communique of this steering committee.

Iliescu Receives Iasi, Timisoara Railway Strikers

AU2102205091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1954 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/2/1991—In the evening of Thursday, February 21, Romania's President Ion Iliescu receives a delegation of the Free Union Convention of Timisoara Branch of the Romanian Railways and the Free Union Alliance of Iasi Railway Branch.

Attending were representatives of the government, that is Ion Aurel Stoica, minister secretary of state for the quality of life and social protection, Doru Pana, minister of public works, transports and physical planning, and representatives of the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Finance.

The Iasi free union was represented by the union leader Victor Condurache, and the Timisoara unions by three of its members.

Minister Doru Pana informed the president about the labour conflict in the railway system. He underlined that solutions were found to all the claims but for one, that which refers to the granting of extra pays and unpaid quotas due to these employees for the period 1986-1989.

President Iliescu referred to the difficult situation of the national economy, the serious problems the whole country is faced with.

Iasi's Moldovan TU Alliance Views Conflicts

AU2102155291 Bucharest REALITATEA ROMANEASCA in Romanian 15 Feb 91 p 2

[Declaration by the Moldova Trade Union Alliance issued in Iasi; date not given]

[Text] In reference to the government communique on solving labor conflicts on the basis of returning strikers to their places of work, the Moldova Trade Union Alliance declares as follows:

1. Through its fully authorized representatives, the government has to examine—with maximum responsibility—the demands of trade unions to prevent crisis situations.

2. In case of conflicts, the government is obligated to conduct very serious negotiations to restrict economic losses and prevent their expansion and degeneration.

3. We believe that any trade union that launches a strike is directly interested in ending it as soon as possible.

4. We believe that the solution of labor conflicts through a call up of the strikers, like in the military, or through replacing them at work by military staff will have the following repercussions: a) It compels trade unions to take extreme action, such as calling a general strike; b) it creates a conflict between the Army and the people; c) it gives the impression of a military dictatorship at home and abroad, thus greatly harming our country's economy; d) it violates the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 23).

5. The measure taken by the government strikingly reminds us of the militarization of Romania's economy before the December 1989 revolution.

Steering Council of Moldova Trade Union Alliance, Iasi

TU Organizes Antigovernment Rally in Timisoara

AU2102204691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1952 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/2/1991—The "Timisoara" TU Federation called a rally in Timisoara Thursday afternoon. Besides trade union members of some factories and enterprises, members and leaders of "Timisoara" Society were also present and of "Tot Banatu i Fruncea" ["All Banat Is Top"] Association. The speakers voiced their support for the Iasi and Timisoara railway workers, their disapproval of the law on labour conflicts. Most of the speakers representing "Timisoara" Society condemned the dismissal of Colonel Tancea as chief of county police. The demonstrators chanted antigovernmental, anti-communist and antipresidential slogans.

Newspaper's 'Nationalist Slogans' Criticized

AU2102155491 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 14 Feb 91 p 2

[Petre Mihai Bacanu article: "Vatra—the Big Farce"]

[Excerpt] The nationalist slogans of ROMANIA MARE work well. By the way, when the representative of the Romanians' National Unity Party [PUNR] told us how many millions that party numbered he got all upset as if disaster had struck Transylvania and they—such a great number—were even in danger.

You see, the trouble is this: There are still a lot of people who do not understand that the struggle between Romanians and Hungarians does not exist unless someone provokes it; the former Securitate members are the greatest specialists in this field. Whenever Ceausescu wanted to avert our attention from the cold and hunger he, too, made his armed arm—the Securitate—seek proof for "irredentism" and sound the nationalist cord.

Once again it is cold in our apartments and, as you can see, the television program carries a report on President Iliescu receiving a delegation of an unauthorized demonstration. Later, a PUNR representative (who has no connection with "Vatra"!) comes on to tell us about the Hungarian danger, and we become so indignant that we forget even about the cold and hunger; furthermore, we do not realize that the speaker is trying to push us toward a precipice and that he is calling for hatred. The speaker, Mr. Adrian Moisoiu wants to persuade us that "Vatra Romaneasca" is identical to all of Greater Romania, that the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] is a terrorist organization and its leaders should be tried, and that they—the "Vatra" people—who come to Bucharest by train, have opposed the destabilizing forces. Not to repeat the compromised slogan "We will not sell our country," they used another one: "Let us better be dignified in our own country than united within Europe."

Weekly ROMANIA MARE's indecent campaign of inciting extremism and the spirit of the jungle seems to them something quite normal. Once again the flatterers of those in power instigate chauvinism and national exclusivism. Let us remind them that those in the front ranks of the Great Unity of 1 December 1918 promised to the civilized world to guarantee the rights of ethnic minorities. The Hungarian authorities guarantee that they have no territorial claims and, in turn, European countries declare that a revision of borders is not at issue. Whatever they say or believe, with or without their will, the future belongs to a united Europe about which Mr. Adrian Moisoiu of the PUNR does not want to hear; on the contrary, he promotes the classical tribe rivalry. There are parts in our country where instigation to hatred between Romanians and Hungarians did not strike roots. Rapprochement is sought instead.

We hope that our people will realize that the chauvinistic and anti-minority attitude, from which those in power do not dissociate themselves, is nothing more than the well-known political maneuver to avert attention from the difficulties that are constantly growing. [passage omitted]

Mazilu Interviewed on Human Rights Violations

AU2102171191 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 15 Feb 91 p 8

[Interview with Dumitru Mazilu, expert at the UN Human Rights Commission, by Nicoletta Franck in Geneva on 13 February: "Dispatch From Geneva: A New 'Mazilu Report'"]

[Excerpts] [Franck] At the UN Human Rights Commission, the Romanian expert Dumitru Mazilu has been known for years on end as the "Mazilu Case." In 1985 he was charged by that commission with drawing up a report on the rights of young people around the world, because the UN General Assembly, at Nicu Ceausescu's initiative, proclaimed that year as "Youth Year." In April 1986, Mr. Mazilu finished the first version of his report and was ready to go to Geneva where the yearly session of the UN human rights subcommission was scheduled to take place in the summer, but Mazilu was arrested and did not travel to Geneva. The Securitate did not like his report at all. Since then, people talked about the "Mazilu Case." [passage omitted]

Things have changed in the meantime and Mr. Mazilu was able to travel to Geneva with another report, also about Romania, that Bucharest again did not like. Hence, he assures us, he no longer receives any wages from home.

Now, with the commission in session, Mr. Mazilu is again presenting a report, once more on the situation in Romania. In four chapters, he succinctly describes—in actual fact and de jure—"the situation of human rights in Romania, with special reference to the younger generation, after the tragic events that took place in June 1990 in Bucharest. I asked him for details.

Mr. Mazilu, the first chapter of your report is entitled "Human Rights Violations by the Romanian Government During King Mihai's Visit to Romania" (25-26 December 1990). What is the impact of this human rights violation on Romanian youth?

[Mazilu] It was a shock for the young generation! For 43 years, the Romanians were told only lies about the king's role in Romania's history. However, when Mihai arrived on a visit to pray at the tombs of his grandparents, many Romanians, including many young people, were shocked by the government's abuses!

[Franck] What were these abuses in actual fact and de jure?

[Mazilu] The government actually used its immense police apparatus to arrest and expel the king and his family members. This violent action violated both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. The latter stipulates that "no one can be arbitrarily deprived of his citizenship." Hence, the Groza government's decision to withdraw King Mihai's citizenship in 1948—a decision used by the current government to expel him—is an abuse because, according to the Universal Declaration, the king is Romanian. In my report I emphasize that the Romanian Government should inform the national and international community that the May 1948 decision of the Groza government runs counter to international law and that it should publicly apologize to King Mihai.

[Franck] The second chapter refers to "The Continuous and Systematic Repression of the Romanian People,

Primarily the Younger Generation, Who Peacefully Demonstrate Against the Current Government." What repression and what abuses are you talking about?

[Mazilu] There were many instances of repression and abuse even after 22 October, when Prime Minister Petre Roman solemnly told the European Community commission that no more violence would ever be used against peaceful demonstrators. In my report, I only refer to the demonstrations in University Square on 1, 12, and 13 January 1991, when peaceful demonstrators, the great majority of whom were young people, were brutally beaten up—a fate actually shared by Romanian and foreign journalists as well. I am supplying the names of the latter. Through the violent actions of those days, the Romanian Government violated the provisions of Articles 5, 19, and 21 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as well as the international standards on the freedom of the press. These violations are no "accidents along the road to democracy," as the prime minister said, but rather constant violations that also include the incitement of various ethnic, religious, or professional groups against each other and the brutal repression of all opinions to the contrary.

[Franck] The third chapter refers to "Violation of the People's Right to Truth and to Complete and Sincere Information." This is a long chapter. What does it contain?

[Mazilu] I enumerate all the questions left unanswered by our "original democracy," which promised to give up repression but continues to suppress the people, primarily the younger generation, and which also refuses to tell us, for instance, how it disposed of the assets of the former government party and how it administers the country's economic and financial resources. By refusing to do so, the government is violating the right of all citizens to know the truth, so they can make their choices in a knowledgeable way—that is, freely.

[Franck] The last chapter is entitled "The Violation of the People's Right to a Dignified Life; Past Sufferings Return to the Homes and Daily Lives of the Romanians." What are you describing and proving in this chapter?

[Mazilu] I reveal the causes that brought us back the cold, hunger, and fear. I also refer to the crime committed regarding the orphaned and handicapped children and the fact that the people of the new power moved into the villas of the old oppressors, instead of putting them at the disposal of these poor children. I also prove that the problems related to man's dignity can no longer be hidden today, in any state of law, under the worn out curtain of "national sovereignty." Today, the citizen's right to a dignified life has precedence over state interests.

Interior Minister Tells Senate of 'Bomb Attempt'

AU2102211891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2002 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/2/1991—In the last Senate session of this week, held Thursday, February 21, Minister of the Interior Doru Viorel Ursu informed the senators on measures to be taken for the registration of foreigners on the territory of Romania, which, a senator of the National Liberal Party considered to reiterate Ceausescu's methods. The minister of the interior firmly rejected the accusation and added the measures the relevant ministry had in view were asked for by the international situation in the context of the Gulf crisis. He asserted that a first bomb attempt in Romania was defused two days ago. Details were neither given nor asked.

Answering a number of questions, the minister of the interior spoke about the results of the activity of fighting profiteering and abuse, theft and traffic of goods, weapons included, illegal trade, the breaching of the law in various branches of activity.

Roman Asks Minister Stoica 'Not To Step Down'

AU2102195591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1714 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/2/1991—Ion Aurel Stoica, minister of state for the quality of life and social protection, told the news briefing under way at Victoria Palace he has the intention to resign. He said he took that decision as it was him who led the commission who sought a solution to the claims of the strikers of Iasi and Timisoara branches of the Romanian Railways, in spite of the Supreme Court of Justice having suspended these strikes for 60 days.

Referring to the intention of the minister of state Ion Aurel Stoica to resign, Prime Minister Roman told the press that he had asked the former "not to step down." He added minister Stoica's wish to resign would be discussed in the next meeting of the government.

Opposition, Minorities' TV Programs Discussed

AU2102111691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0825 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 21/2/1991—The Parliamentary Commission for Culture met in joint session with the commission for minorities, to debate the decision of the Administrative Council of the Romanian Television to restructure programme broadcasts and adopted a minute which was handed to the Romanian television's management.

The document which calls for the safeguarding of the freedom of expression of the opposition suggests the proportional limitation of the time of the programmes on channel one except those of the government and the presidency and the maintaining of special broadcasts of

parties and ethnic minorities. Proposals were made for each parliamentary group or ethnic minority to nominate a sponsor for the respective broadcast in agreement with the Romanian Television.

The reason of that minute, as deputy Dan Lazarescu stated, was that the number of street demonstrations went down proportionally with the increase of the opposition's possibility to state their positions. It is for the sake of our quietness and internal stability that the opposition and ethnic minorities present their viewpoints on TV.

The director of the television, Mr. Emanuel Valeriu, who was handed the minute, assured the members of the commission that he would consult the TV management and would give an answer on 20 February.

Nastase Attends Madrid Council of Europe Meeting

AU2102111991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0823 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Madrid (ROMPRES) 21/1/1991—Romanian Foreign Affairs Minister Adrian Nastase arrived in Spain's capital city to attend, as invited guest, the extraordinary session of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe member states.

The visit to Madrid, he stated, marks Romania's first participation in a session of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, hence the beginning of contacts at a governmental level. It will be followed by the participation of a delegation of parliamentarians to the session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

Stressing the major significance of Romania's participation in an institutionalized activity of the European forum, the Romanian minister also said that it was an opportunity for further contacts and exchanges of opinions on both bilateral and highly topical international issues. I think that the difficult moments have passed and that now we try to involve ourselves in what is already a patrimony of the Council of Europe, on the one hand, and to contribute to working out future formula as regards the specific activity of the Council of Europe as well as the conventions to be adopted, on the other hand. Therefore we try to embark upon the path of a normal participation in a body which we feel or ought to feel as being ours or as ours.

In the evening the Romanian foreign minister met with Romanians settled in Spain and attended the official reception given by the Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez in honour of the participants in the extraordinary session of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe.

Melescanu on UN Projects, Ties With Hungary

AU2102212191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1942 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/2/1991—The head of Romania's mission to Geneva's UN office signed, on behalf of the Romanian Government, an act on Romania's joining a project of United Nations Development Program [UNDP], concerning the building of a main north south European railway line, Teodor Melescanu, secretary of state of Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, tells a news conference. He adds that Romania's joining this project is an opportunity for its home railway network to be up-dated to meet European standards and become part of the European system of transport.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman mentions that at the current session of the UNDP board of administration, that includes Romania, concrete aspects have been discussed regarding the improvement of operational development actions and of activities that are part of the programs of assistance of this UN body. He adds that concrete steps are expected to be taken at the present session, following Romania's having been granted assistance in keeping with the decision of the UN committee 661, on the assistance to be granted to the states affected by the economic embargo against Iraq, after it invaded Kuwait.

Secretary of State Teodor Melescanu also announces that or February 26 March 2, Romania's Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase will go on an official visit to Malaysia and Thailand.

Referring to the conclusion in Budapest of the first meeting of foreign experts of Romania and Hungary, attended by military experts too, held in view of reaching a bilateral agreement for creating an "open sky" regime, the Foreign Ministry spokesman says: "We start this novel action on a bilateral basis, sincerely wishing that the national territories of Romania and Hungary should become the first 'open skies' in Europe and in the world. This Romanian initiative, like all the others handed to the Hungarian party, shows our country's wish to contribute concretely to promote good neighbourhood relations between our two countries."

On the same occasion Secretary of State Teodor Melescanu announces that a British delegation is in Bucharest now, led by N. Elam, head of the cultural section of the Foreign Office, that negotiated a Romanian-British governmental agreement on the opening of cultural centres; negotiations are under way of the program of interchanges in the fields of education, science and culture, over 1991-1993.

The two acts enlarging Romanian-British cultural relations will be signed Friday, February 22.

Hungarian Human Rights Violations Claims Denied

AU2102214891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2043 GMT 21 Feb 91

["Diplomatic Diary: "We Must Take Mr. Jeszenszky's Words With Detachment"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/2/1991—The 18 February address made by Hungary's minister of external affairs in the UN Commission for the Human Rights, in which, speaking of violations of the human rights in various countries—he named Romania among them—was termed by Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, the Romanian Foreign Ministry spokesman, as "rather a routine propaganda drill" that should "be regarded with the aloofness it deserves."

We have to deal with much more attention-deserving problems in our relations with Hungary, said the ambassador, mentioning the visit by the Romanian minister of science and education sealed with a cooperation protocol, the convention signed on 15 February at Budapest on the opening of Hungarian and Romanian houses of culture in the two countries, the consultations under way at Budapest at expert level for an "open sky" agreement the consultation due to start today in Bucharest on the regime of Hungarian citizens in Romania and of Romanian citizens in Hungary.

Ambassador Chebeleu voiced his confidence that good neighbourly relations between the two countries could be built by a pragmatic approach of the various aspects of their cooperation.

Trying to explain the motivation behind Mr. Geza Jeszenszky's intervention in the UN Commission for the Human Rights, by which he maintained that "the time has not come yet to consider the situation of the human rights in Romania as improved," the spokesman opined that, just like when the Hungarian parliamentarians abstained from voting for the "special-guest" status to Romania in the political commission of the Council of Europe, this time again it was for "political reasons, that have nothing to do with the core of the matter." Spokesman Chebeleu expressed his doubts that Mr. Jeszenszky had read the report by the special rapporteur for Romania who, unlike the Hungarian minister, signals the fact that in Romania the observance of the human rights has considerably improved, but also that the process is far from having been completed, an assessment that holds true not only for Romania, but also for Hungary and other countries that have ridden themselves of the totalitarian communist regimes.

Ambassador Chebeleu pointed out that, although the Hungarian minister described the "political, legislative and moral rights" in Hungary in very fine words, he, however, said next to nothing about what Hungary has effectively done for the human rights, for the minorities' rights. He spoke, instead, with much astuteness, about other countries. If he is so concerned about other countries, said Mr. Chebeleu, it would have been appropriate for Mr. Jeszenszky to inform the UN Commission about the illegal arms sales under the protection of the Hungarian governmental authorities, to certain political forces in Yugoslavia, aiming at destabilising neighbouring countries.

Anyone would have expected, under the circumstances, the Hungarian Government to firmly state its adhesion to the interstate principles of the CSCE documents. Let us hope to hear such a statement soon, said the Foreign Ministry spokesman.

Mr. Jeszenszky's assertions that in Romania certain problems have been left unsettled, which may call for further watch by the international community over the human rights, were termed by the spokesman as "groundless" and refuted by facts themselves, by the information and concrete examples furnished by the Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase in his speech to the UN Commission for the Human Rights, as well as by the document on the minorities rights in Romania, released to the participants.

"As a matter of fact, stressed the spokesman, this makes the difference between the approach of the Romanian foreign minister and that of his Hungarian counterpart: one brings facts, the other just empty words."

Roman Exchanges Letters With Hungary's Antall

AU2102204891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1925 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/2/1991—Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman addressed a letter on February 11 to the prime minister of the Republic of Hungary Jozsef Antall, showing Romania's interest to take part in the three-sided consultations among Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland. Romania would have liked this cooperation to begin as early as the high level meeting held on February 15 at Visegrad, in Hungary.

On February 15, 1991, the prime minister of the Republic of Hungary Jozsef Antall in his letter addressed to Prime Minister Roman answered that the participants in the Visegrad meeting did not think it opportune to enlarge the circle of cooperation, by accepting Romania or any other country willing to participate in the three-sided consultations, but accepted "partial cooperation in planning and finding solutions to concrete tasks."

The two letters point to the unprejudiced wish of Romania to cooperate, to its pragmatically approaching the relations with its neighbouring countries, starting from its interest openly expressed to start long-term cooperations on a security and understanding basis.

* Council of Europe Special Guest Status Viewed

91BA0275A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 5 Feb 91 p 2

[Article by Florin Gabriel Marculescu: "In the Salons of Europe"]

[Text] Begun in an atmosphere of exaggerated optimism, the Gulf war seems to be lasting much longer that the intially envisaged time limits. Supported by shadowy forces (is Moscow really and completely out of this game?) Saddam Husayn defies the allies' sophisticated arsenal and refuses to accept the idea of an almost inevitable defeat. Not only that, but he stubbornly keeps trying to draw Israel into a generalized conflict. Anyway, the Americans and their allies are stuck in the sands of the Arab desert. This is a very convenient situation for Mr. Gorbachev who, ignoring the ethical significance of the prestigious prize awarded to him, is once again having recourse to tanks to liquidate the legitimate independence aspirations of nations who spent dozens of years locked up in the jails of Soviet imperialism. And that only two months after signing the Paris documents that were to serve as the basis of a Europe that General de Gaulle had dreamed would unite from the Atlantic to the Urals, omitting to think of a reverse version.

The facts of the international situation help us better understand the reasons for which the European fora decided to ignore the excesses of our original democracy and to grant Romania special guest status at the European Council as of 1 February 1991. In point of fact things had become clearer when the State Department sent its message in December and on New Years day, when Ambassador Alan Green explained to us that to the United States we are not just any old country but one of the 15 members of the Security Council and the country that had chaired the Council in August 1990 when Saddam Husayn's troops invaded Kuwait. Romania's constructive diplomatic position on the Gulf problem and the West's fear of being overrun by waves of East European emigrants are the two factors that, in our opinion, contributed to Europe's indulgence and made the barbarous acts committed in June in Bucharest quickly fade away. Thus, in November, European Parliament members visiting our country stressed that presenting reports on the events in Tirgu Mures and Bucharest had just about the value of a formal condition. That "subtle" remark was missed by Parliament but not by Prime Minister Roman. It took an energetic intervention by the latter to pull the parliament members out of their inertia and prompt them to hammer out a report whose dual conclusions were presented in Strasbourg at the last moment. For various and even conflicting reasons, everybody wanted Romania to join Europe. Protocol, however, had to be observed. Mr. Roman was invited to speak before the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council and was then subjected to a "severe" interview. Certain of the final solution, he had ended his speech with a resounding, and for the uninitiated, peremptory formula: "Romania cannot live outside its European avocation and, just as true, Europe cannot be built without Romania." Neither, we would like to add, without the great mystery that is still the Soviet Union. Taking utmost advantage of the fact that he speaks three (even four, counting Russian) of the six international languages, our prime minister serenely answered the sometimes extremely "aggressive" questions of the European parliamentarians, speaking nonchalantly and more than a few times with barely veiled arrogance. He slalomed down skilfully, skirting tight flagposts, no doubt with the approval of the referees, and didn't hesitate to distort beyond recognition the most banal truths. For example, in his humorous version, it was not the students who fell victims to aggression on 14 June, but the inert equipment and laboratories of University buildings. And we could easily go on expanding on the list of distortions.

During the press conference organized in the airplane on his way back, Mr. Roman was savoring his victory, telling the reporters—with patent narcissism—about the adventures of his Strasbourg tournament. We think that a bit more modesty wouldn't have hurt him. Moreover, he must not forget that we made it to Europe far behind other [word illegible] countries precisely because of the enormous political mistakes committed by the [National Salvation] Front and its leaders in the course of the past year. If it hadn't been for those blunders, the appreciation and sympathy we enjoyed at the end of December 1989 would long have secured us a comfortable place among the ranks of the European nations. Not to mention the most-favored-nation clause and the great potential loans and aid lost because of the isolation to which our own authorities sentenced us internationally. The damages inflicted on the country during this time come to hundreds of millions of dollars. In these conditions, the government and the prime minister took the necessary steps to repair their own mistakes. In that they were obviously helped by the international situation. Let's hope that our acceptance in the elegant European salons will help us advance more resolutely along the path of authentic democracy and preclude a new dictatorship without concessions to Romania's detriment. Travelling this path will not be either easy or free of convulsions, however democratic the institutions that we are hastily cutting out, because these institutions are run by people whose mentalities remain too closely linked to the past. And shaping people's awareness takes time.

Government Warns on Republics Unlawful Decisions

LD2102231691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2038 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, Febuary 21 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government on Thursday warned that certain republics, despite the reached accord, continued taking decisions which render difficult the functioning of the federation and reaching a peaceful resolution to the Yugoslav crisis.

A government announcement cites that the Yugoslav Army has found itself in a critical situation because the republics failed, as agreed, to provide their part of the contribution to the federal budget.

Representatives of the republican government recently reached accord with the federal government on the measures to be undertaken so as to make possible a minimum of common functions of the federation until a new accord was reached on the future order of Yugoslavia.

Assembly Informed About Illegal Arms Imports

AU2102153191 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Feb 91 p 2

["Excerpts" from a report of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs presented to the SFRY Assembly's Internal Policy Committee on 12 February: "Croatia 'Safest'"]

[Text] Croatia has the greatest number of policemen per capita, twice as many as Montenegro, three times as many as Serbia (including Vojvodina), four time as many as Bosnia-Hercegovina, and six time as many as Kosovo. There has been a reduction in the active and reserve personnel in all the republics and provinces except Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia, where there was a slight increase of 0.24 and 1.31 percent respectively, and a massive increase in Croatia where the number of active policemen rose by 39.1 percent and that of reserve policemen by 115 percent. Croatia also has plans to increase the active personnel by 102.84 percent and the reserve personnel of 222.26 percent. This is an excerpt from a report that the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs [SSUP] yesterday presented to the SFRY Assembly delegates. With this report the SSUP in fact refutes the claim of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia that this republic has fewer militiamen than other republics.

According to the SSUP report, the attempt to carry out an armed insurrection in Croatia, sought to destroy Yugoslavia, and threatened to cause a civil war. Particularly worrying for security is the information that we are not talking only about actions of individuals and groups.... The qualification of such a dangerous social phenomenon, which most seriously threatens the constitutional order of the country, is being denied in some parts of the country—before the outcome of the criminal proceeding in the Zagreb Military Court is known. The partial realization of the SFRY Presidency's order, the SSUP's report states, and the attempt made in the last few day to totally block it, could have serious consequences for the constitutional order of the country. The Yugoslav People's Army is being accused of preparing a coup d'etat when in fact it prevented a civil war from breaking out.

Regarding the security system of Yugoslavia, the SSUP claims that Slovenia obviously intends to leave this system and that it only wants a reciprocal cooperation, while Croatia agreed to some kind of cooperation but has tendentiously been informing and often disinforming the SSUP. The Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia did not inform it about the return of weapons illegally possessed by members of political parties. During the SSUP's inspection, it provided documentation about the import of 5,000 pistols from Panama and confirmed that it also imported 6,300 rifles (documentation for those did not exist). During the inspection the SSUP was also presented with the documentation on the import of 5,000 pistols from the CSFR that are still in the possession of the customs authorities. The SSUP is worried that there was no documentation on military weapons, explosives...that are in the citizens' possession.

Commenting on the claim that Croatia had obtained arms from abroad only after it could not buy them in Yugoslavia, the SSUP said that the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia demanded 50 to 500 times more weapons and ammunition than it was planned for last year.

Report From the 13 February Presidency Session

AU2202084391 Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene 14 Feb 91 p 4

[Tatjana Mandic report: "In Sarajevo Next Week]

[Text] Belgrade— At its session yesterday [13 February], the State Presidency first listened to a report by Federal Prime Minister Markovic about the talks held so far with representatives of the republics and provinces and about the offered 11 points on the minimum functioning of the federation. We have learned that Milosevic and Jovic bitterly attacked Markovic and his program, which is leading Serbia into economic collapse, and Markovic responded in the same way. Markovic and Drnovsek think that in the present political situation the federal government cannot enforce the relevant economic policies and carry out its program. The discussion was followed by a rather neutral conclusion, in the manner of having been informed, but not obliged to make any decisions or promise anything. Within the discussion on that point of the agenda, the Slovene representative presented to the federal government the Slovene memorandum, which states that we will finance the federal budget merely with set contributions. Any deviation from this stand can be adopted by the Slovene Assembly alone.

The second item on the agenda was the discussion about a solution to the Yugoslav crisis. It was conducted in a "peaceful and constructive manner" and everybody yet again stated their known stands: Slovenia and Croatia support the confederal option, Montenegro and Serbia support a modern federation, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia support something in between. Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said that if Slovenia attains independence, Croatia will follow its example. Most talk concentrated on the dilemmas of whether to recognize the sovereignty of republics or nations, and whether the internal Yugoslav borders are state or administrative borders.

It was agreed that the next session will take place in Sarajevo on 22 February. On that occasion, they will try to reach at least partial consensus of their views, something Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia are especially striving for.

Drnovsek also proposed that the process of sharing obligations and rights should begin immediately. The Federal Executive Council should at once propose how financial relations among the republics, as well between individual republics and the federation, are to be settled. He proposed that the Council of Europe, that is, the Demosthenes [Demosthenes] Program, as well as experts in the field of law and international relations take part in the talks, which would help to solve problems. Council of Europe Chariwoman Catherine Lalumiere proposed this in January, and she has recently repeated it to President Jovic.

Slovenia 'Definitely' Dissociates From Federation

AU2202145991 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Feb 91 pp 1, 2

[V. Simonovic, D. Draskovic, and S. Sicarov report: "Slovenia Has Seceded"]

[Text] Ljubljana—At yesterday's separate sessions, the deputies of all three chambers of the republican Assembly adopted the new, 99th amendment to the republican constitution with which Slovenia has definitely disassociated itself from the Yugoslav legal system. This amendment annuls all those provisions of the still valid constitution of Slovenia, with which the execution of sovereign rights was transferred to the SFRY services. Regarding the constitutional status of Slovenia and the SFRY, and the relations that result from it—they are no longer valid. At the same time, the Executive Council of Slovenia was authorized to independently decide, without having to obtain consent from the Assembly, which provisions of federal laws will no longer be in force in Slovenia.

With this the Slovene Assembly achieved the legal-constitutional authority to pass republican laws, by which all state functions, previously held by the federation, will be transferred to the republic. Also, all acts passed in the Federal Assembly, will not come into force in Slovenia until they are endorsed by the Slovene Assembly.

According to the 99th constitutional amendment, the Republic of Slovenia is defined as an autonomous state, because the republican Assembly autonomously and legally regulates all relations within the state. Slovenia will regulate its relations with other states on the basis of international law and as one of the legal successors of the SFRY. So, based on the decision of deputies, the text of the republican constitution contains the statement that the Republic of Slovenia already is a legal successor of the SFRY. The decision about this document, or about the resolution that will offer the remaining republics a consenteous separation from the SFRY, is yet to be made at the joint session, which started after the paper was in print.

In the Sociopolitical Chamber, which is known for regular delays in its work and is, therefore, nicknamed by journalists "the turtle's chamber," as well as in other chambers, the discussion about the 99th amendment was conducted with unprecedented speed and protocol. The most interesting observation was made by Darja Lavtizar, a Socialist Party deputy, who said that this amendment directly refers to the first article of the republican constitution, which talks about the inalienable right to self-determination including the right to secede. Minister Lojze Janko replied by remarking that the amendment cannot go into great detail, but can only be used for making general decisions. He also said that the right Mrs. Lavtizar mentioned is contained in other constitutional amendments.

The Liberal Democratic Party demanded that the republican government make a precise material-financial statement of Slovenia's accounts in relation to the federal state and to other republics. Despite the warning by party leader Josef Skoljc that the paper decisions without a statement of accounts are not worth much, the proposal did not pass in the Chamber of Communes, nor in the Sociopolitical Chamber.

While the crucial 99th amendment was passed smoothly, quite a bit of discussion was held about the amendment in referencec to the symbols on the Slovene flag. It did not pass in the first round of voting in the Sociopolitical Chamber, apparently because the members of the Liberal Democratic Party abstained from voting, stating that the discussion was a waste of energy, as this issue will be relevant during discussions on constitutional matters. Otherwise, Joze Smole opposed the removal of the star from the flag, as the star is not an ideological symbol but the symbol of resistance against fascism. France Tomsic responded that the star on the flag is the symbol of political unanimity.

Deputies of the Party of Democratic Reform quoted the opinions of the 19th century independent intellectuals who opposed the use of symbols as a temporary solution and expressed the opinion that the question of symbols

on a flag cannot be made hastily. Otherwise, regarding the future symbol, the party does not advocate any idea of its own, Dr. Ciril Ribicic stressed. They have compiled a number of proposals upon which the party members and other people in Slovenia will decide, as there are as many people who favor the new ideas as there are those who are traditionally linked to the old symbol.

Croatian Draft Resolution on Separation; Army

LD2102222891 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Draft resolutions on the division of Yugoslavia, read by Croatian Assembly President Zarko Domljan at the Croatian Assembly session in Zagreb—live]

[Text] The first resolution reads:

Confirming our adherence to the principles and aims of the UN Charter, the Helsinki act, and the Final Act of the Paris CSCE conference, relying on the inalienable and (?unspent) right of the Croatian people to self-determination, including the right to secession and association with other peoples and states, which in the Republic of Croatia, according to its Constitution, belongs to all its citizens, regardless of their affiliation or origin; convinced that the further development and the (?expression) of good-neighborly and mutual friendship and cooperation with all peoples and states of Europe corresponds to all the vital interests of the Republic of Croatia and all states and serves international peace and security; developing the sovereignty of a secure society and law-governed state, based on respect for human rights, a market-orientated economy, and European togetherness, as the highest aims of the Croatian people and of all states and of the international community as a whole; and conscious of the fact that only a possible new historical accord that is being prepared by the sovereign republics of today's SFRY will make it possible for their representatives to enter into valid international contracts; the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia, in connection with its receipt of the resolution of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia on the proposal for an agreement-based division of the SFRY, on the basis of Article 140 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia and at the proposal of the president of the Republic of Croatia, adopts:

A resolution on the acceptance of procedure for the division of the SFRY and on possible association into an alliance of sovereign republics.

1. The Republic of Croatia accepts the resolution of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia, on the basis of Article 140 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, on an agreement-based division of the SFRY into several sovereign and autonomous [samostalni] states. [applause] The new states that come into being with the division of the SFRY are sovereign in the full sense of the word througout their area, in the framework of the existing borders of the republics. The Croatian Assembly proposes that the procedure of separation be carried out gradually, democratically, and in the interests of all parties to the agreement.

2. The Republic of Croatia is ready for association only with those republics or states of the present-day SFRY that reciprocally recognize the basic rights of each of them to survival, autonomy [samostalnost], sovereignty, equality, and international subjectivity and respect, and who oblige themselves not to interfere in affairs within [the sphere of] internal competence, except when this is permitted by the rules of international law.

3. The Republic of Croatia is ready to enter into an inter-republican alliance only with those states that guarantee each others' status as sovereign states and their spatial integrity—in brackets, territorial integrity—and who oblige themselves to refrain from taking actions that could cause harm to the state sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states.

4. The Republic of Croatia is ready to enter into an alliance only with those states which, within their constitutions and laws, guarantee equal rights and freedoms to all their citizens regardless of their national affiliation and other differences.

5. The Republic of Croatia is ready to enter into an interstate alliance only with those states that oblige themselves to recognize and respect the full range of rights to equal treatment in participation in political decisionmaking, [rights] of language and script, and rights of the cultural institutions of members of other people and minorities living in their area in keeping with the generally recognized norms of international law.

6. The Republic of Croatia is ready to enter into an interstate alliance with those states that will respect, throughout their area, the pluralism of ownership and the freedom of movement of labor, goods, and capital in keeping with internationally adopted conventions and EC regulations.

7. The Republic of Croatia is ready to enter into an alliance with those states that agree the legal status of all property that can be described as federal—in brackets, Yugoslav property—should be resolved in a separate reciprocal agreement based on the norms of international law and on the principle of the protection of economic sovereignty and the interests of all parties to the agreement.

8. The Republic of Croatia is ready to enter into an alliance with those states that recognize the vital need for conditions of collective security, including reciprocal cooperation in the field of defense and security, in keeping with the general efforts to preserve and strengthen peace in this part of Europe.

9. The Republic of Croatia is ready to enter into an alliance with other states that respect the unity of the

European ecological area and the generally and internationally accepted norms on the protection and improvement of the environment.

10. The Republic of Croatia is ready to enter into an alliance with other states of Europe as well, outside the SFRY, including the right to enter into appropriate bilateral or multilateral agreements.

11. For the resumption of negotiations between sovereign republics, the Republic of Croatia agrees to establish the minimum of federal functions in the transition period, pending the reaching of an agreement on separation, or rather the formation of a new alliance of sovereign republics.

12. The purpose of this resolution is to serve as a basis and signpost for a final agreement on the settling of mutual relations between the Republic of Croatia and other republics and states, with the proposal that it be adopted by 30 June 1991.

The Assembly of the Republic of Croatia is sending this resolution to all the top representative bodies of the republics and provinces of the SFRY.

[Signed] Assembly of the Republic of Croatia [applause]

On the basis of Article 94 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, I propose that the Croatian Assembly adopt the following resolution on the protection of the constitutional order of the Republic of Croatia.

The constitution court of the Republic of Croatia warned the Croatian Assembly, in its letter of 24 January 1991, on the unconstitutionality and illegality of the SFRY Presidency's order of 9 January 1991, as well as on the need for the Croatian Assembly to adopt certain decisions to protect the sovereignty, interests, and rights of the Republic of Croatia and the fundamental rights of its citizens. The events and facts seen in the wake of this order fully prove the wisdom of and justification for the aforementioned warning. As they invoke this order, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the bodies of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] demonstrate by their numerous moves that the order was not issued, as stated in it, to disband all armed formations that are not within the framework of the SFRY's single armed force or internal affairs services, but rather to define a basis for toppling the democratically elected authorities and legal order within the Republic of Croatia.

This is particularly borne out by the following actions and moves:

The unlawful seizure of the arms belonging to the territorial defense of the Republic of Croatia by the JNA on the eve of the establishment of democratic authority in May 1990, whereby Croatia's legal territorial defense was disarmed.

The obstruction by JNA units of the competent entities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia in their attempts to restore public order and peace following the disruptions in Knin in August 1990; JNA air force units denied a flight path to the helicopters of the Ministry for Internal Affairs, thereby preventing them from promptly intervening in the crisis-stricken area.

The continual display of armed power by JNA units, both in garrisons and outside them on the territory of Croatia—in Varazdin, Vinkovci, Bjelovar, Velika Gorica, Krizevci, Jastrebarsko, Virovitica, Zagreb, Duga Resa, Osijek, and elsewhere. This practice, either in the same form or some other forms, has continued.

JNA troop movements and regroupings and its introduction of the highest degree of combat-readiness.

The transfer of Slovene, Croatian, and Albanian officers from Croatia to the territory of other republics and the simultaneous arrival of single-nation—Serbian—military formations in the garrisons on the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

The absurd indictment against Croatian Defense Minister General Martin Spegelj, on a charge of preparing an armed insurrection against the JNA in the Virovitica area.

The repeated screenings of the video—fabricated on the orders of military security services—in all units of the JNA and on Belgrade television, about Spegelj's alleged illegal activities.

The unlawful arrests of citizens of the Republic of Croatia on the part of the services of military security.

The attempt at taking over procedures of national service and mobilization on the basis of the unlawful order given by the head of the Third Directorate of the SFRY Armed Forces General Staff and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense on 15 February 1991, in which those areas whose services of local authorities are hostile to the democratically elected authorities of the Republic of Croatia were omitted.

Despite the grave economic crisis in Yugoslavia and the fact that it is virtually impossible to secure the funds required by the federal budget for 1991, the JNA nevertheless embarks on unfruitful and politically untenable expensive activities.

It is obvious that within the JNA and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense there are conservative-dogmatic, hegemony-minded and unitarist forces who want to restore the old communist order and Yugoslavia's system of centralism and hegemony.

By their activities they are turning the JNA into an army of political authoritarianism and promoter of greater-Serbian policies. This is why they are attempting to assum the role of the chief political partner in resolving the Yugoslav crisis. The legitimate demand of all democratic political forces for the depoliticization of the Army has been met merely by abolishing organizations of the

former League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the JNA, while at the same time it set up, in effect, its own political service, the League of Communists - Movement for Yugoslavia, which forces officers of the armed forces to join it if they want to retain their professional and material status.

This conduct on the part of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and some sectors of the armed forces is at odds not only with the views of the most responsible representatives of the Republic of Croatia but also with the views of the top legitimate representatives of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia, Slovenia, and Kosovo. It is also at odds with the SFRY Presidency's repeated statements, and those of the Federal Executive Council, that they will do their best to create the conditions for a peaceful and democratic solution to the Yugoslav crisis and for reaching a new historic agreement. As the military services invoke the SFRY Presidency's order in the course of these untolerable activities, the preservation of this order constitutes a lasting threat to peace and security, not only to the citizens of the Republic of Croatia, and not only to the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia, but also to the security of all Yugoslavia's citizens and even to Europe itself.

Keeping this order in effect also obstructs normal dialogue on the new historic agreement among the republics. Following all that has been said, the Croatian Assembly demands that the SFRY Presidency withdraw the order of 9 January 1991 and stop the unconstitutional and unlawful conduct of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the armed forces. Unless the SFRY Presidency recalls this order, the Croatian Assembly will reconsider the participation of representatives of the Republic of Croatia in federal bodies.

[Signed] Dr. Franjo Tudjman

Federal Laws No Longer Valid

LD2102124291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1039 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—Some federal laws, regulations, and other documents that contravene the Croatian Constitution will cease to be valid on Croatian territory. Croatian Assembly deputies made this decision by adopting a constitutional law on the amendment to the constitional law on the enforcement of the Croatian Constitution.

This law empowers the Croatian Government to decide which federal laws and regulations will not be applied on Croatian territory, if it concludes that their implementation endangers the interests and sovereignty of Croatia, its territorial integrity, or if they place the republic at a disadvantage. The amended law stipulates that federal bodies can no longer declare a state of emergency, introduce emergency measures, and order the use of armed forces in peacetime in Croatia without first securing the approval of the Croatian Assembly or of the president.

Thus the federal legal order ceases to take precedence over the Croatian constitutional order, Vladimir Seks, Croatian Assembly vice president and president of the Constitutional Commission, stated when explaining the proposal. Then he stressed that federal laws and regulations and other regulations passed by federal bodies, which are published in the secret official gazetteer and other secret papers, will not be implemented in Croatia.

The Assembly decision regarding the amendment to the constitutional law has came into force immediately after it was adopted. [passage omitted]

Tudjman Assails Interference in Croatia Affairs

LD2102234291 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Good evening, listeners. Half an hour ago, in the large hall of the assembly, Assembly President Dr. Zarko Domljan proclaimed the following:

[Begin Domljan recording] I announce that the resolution on the protection of the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia is also adopted in the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia. [end recording]

[Announcer] The delegates of the Croatian Assembly thus approved the resolution on the adoption of the process for the separation of the SFRY and possibilities for association in an alliance of sovereign republics, and the resolution on the protection of the constitutional order of the Republic of Croatia.

Today's report on the work of the assembly has been compiled by Nenad Stazic, Jasenka Dudic, Kreso Zadravec, and Andjelko Perincic:

[Stazic] In a 90-minute speech to the assembly delegates, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman explained the historical context in which the sovereignty of Croatia has been continuous, recognized, and defined in the state-legal acts and decrees of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and ZAVNOH [Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Croatia], and in all postwar constitutions, particularly that of 1974. This sovereignty gained full expression in the Croatian Constitution.

President Tudjman went on to recall in detail the course of the talks on the solution of the political crisis and the opposing stances in these talks:

[Begin Tudjman recording] I have pointed out, gentlemen, in the talks that Croatia's current politics, its leadership, which was elected in free elections, does not have the right to undervalue the demands of Croatian political thinking and Croatian politics in the past century, and that we have had enough of those times when advocates of a centralist, unitarist, and hegemonistic Yugoslavia could count on being able to force the Croatian leadership to desist from their demands and bring them to their knees. [end recording]

[Stazic] The federal concept supported by Serbia and Montenegro advocates that all affairs should be centralized at federal level and to a greater extent than at present. In this context it is stressed that nations are sovereign and not republics, that the borders between republics are administrative and not state borders, that a confederation is not a state, and that the Serbian nation wants to live in one state. On the other hand, Croatia and Slovenia advocate an alliance of sovereign states, with Slovenia, in accordance with its interests, already taking steps toward disassociation [razdruzivanje]. Croatia's interest in the creation of a confederal agreement lies in the fact that parts of the Croatian nation also live in other parts of Yugoslavia.

Macedonia has made it clear that it does not want to remain in the remnants of Yugoslavia if Slovenia and Croatia leave it, and the Bosnia-Hercegovina leadership has similar views, although as a result of its specific national composition, it is attempting to achieve conditions for remaining in a single state. The stand of Bosnia-Hercegovina will be clearer with the development of the political situation in that state.

President Tudjman also dwelt on the provocative behavior of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] following the order of the SFRY Presidency of 9 January:

[Begin Tudjman recording] It has become clear that this order was not in fact adopted to disarm irregular, illegal military formations, but was adopted to be able to disarm the legal formations of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs, to proceed with the demand for the arrest of one Croatian minister, then another, and the Croatian government, and so on. It is, then, time for us to say enough of that, gentlemen. We will not allow the Army or anyone else to interfere in Croatia's internal sovereignty. [applause] [end recording]

[Stazic] President Tudjman commended the JNA on the fact that it has not so far taken up arms to prevent the multiparty elections and development of democracy. He expressed understanding for the existential problems of the members of the JNA, both individually and as a whole, but he warned that these problems cannot be resolved by undemocratic means.

At the end of his speech, Tudjman maintained that the Croatian Government has already achieved important results, despite the fact that many accuse it of not having a program and not having done anything. The unity of all Croatian parties and the entire Croatian nation in the defense of Croatian sovereignty is greater than ever before, concluded President Tudjman, who today used for the first time his constitutional right to propose to the Croatian Assembly the adoption of a resolution. [passage omitted]

Mesic on Croatian Weapons Purchase; Future Talks

AU2102190991 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Boris Djordjioski report on statement by SFRY Presidency Vice President Stjepan Mesic that Yugoslavia is not at all threatened by civil war and the reason Croatia is arming itself is not the business of anybody in this country, at the Macedonian journalism conference in Skopje; date not given]

[Text] [Djordjioski] The first to speak at the conference was Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov who spoke about Macedonia today and tomorrow and said among other things that the term democracy covers much more than just legislative elections. Moreover, when constituting a Macedonian (?government) one must therefore be careful about single-mindedness and [words indistinct]. He said that the division of powers in the legislature will in fact make it impossible for anybody to hold absolute power in Macedonia.

Mesic entitled his speech: Yugoslavia, Pro et Contra, and said at the outset, Yugoslavia, yes, but what kind of Yugoslavia.

In a lengthy report starting from Austro-Hungary and Ferdinand [reference to Franz Ferdinand, Austro-Hungarian crown prince assassinated in Sarajevo in 1914], he tried to explain the causes for the present crisis and the reasons some people advocate the option of Yugoslavia as a modern federal state and others as a union of sovereign states.

The national question was not solved either in 1918 or in 1941. After all, foundations for confederalism were set up by the 1974 Constitution and these very people who used to attack the federation are now crying over its destiny. By these people Mesic means Serbia because he added that they have committed the largest larceny of the century, abolished provinces, and blocked off the Slovene economy. When speaking about the forces who obviously do not want a solution to the Yugoslav crisis and the problem to be found,—they are creating one crisis after another—such as Knin, Petrinja, Lapac, etc., he is obviously implying that they are the same people.

He also said that legislative organizations exist only in Knin, that Croatia is arming itself, but that the weapons had been legally obtained, and that they are in authorized hands. Yugoslavia is not threatened by civil war at all, there can be no war, because the Yugoslav People's Army and Yugoslavia itself would also break apart.

The low intellectual level of Yugoslav generals and their maliciousness, as well as their rather intensive pro-Serb orientation are the reason they behave as in 1948 and tell incomprehensible and nebulous stories about civil war. Mesic compares the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia to an Ethiopian model.

Replying to remarks that the Croatian leadership is fascist, Mesic says that there are more anti-fascists in that republic's leadership than in all newly elected republican leaderships together. The fact that Croatia is arming itself is nobody's business. It is buying weapons with its own money and there is no reason to (?interrogate) Spegelj.

Talks about the future of the country are continuing and that is good, Mesic says. We are lucky to be able to negotiate, but the (?sine qua non) of these talks is that republics are states and that their borders cannot be changed, because borders are a settled matter.

Conclusions on Unauthorized Military Formations

LD2102184791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1651 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—The decisions of the SFRY Presidency on the activity of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], aimed at the disarming and disbanding of all armed formations outside the Armed Forces of the SFRY and the services of public order and peace, are in keeping with the Federal Constitution and laws. This is the basic stance of the conclusions adopted today by delegates of the Yugoslav Assembly's Federal Chamber, after yesterday's debate on the unauthorized formation of armed formations in the country.

The federal services and the JNA, the conclusions stress, are obliged, in keeping with the highest legal act of the country and its laws, to prevent resolutely and without exception illegal armament in any part of Yugoslav territory, whether it is a matter of the formation of an organized party or national units, or whether it is a question of groups of citizens.

The Federal Chamber at the same time requests that all persons who are responsible for illegally importing and distributing armaments and creating illegal paramilitary formations be held accountable in accordance with the law.

Hungarian Arms in Croatia Possibly Radioactive

LD2102183191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1744 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—TANJUG has learned that commands and units of the Yugoslav People's Army have received specific specialist instructions to take strict inspection and protection measures in the event of weapons being handed in to them which the Republic of Croatia imported illegally from Hungary for the purpose of arming paramilitary formations.

It is claimed, some public information media have reported, that these weapons have been exposed to radiation and that people armed with them are reporting the first symptoms of radiation sickness.

Croatian Shipping Firm Denies Carrying Weapons

AU2102130591 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 14 Feb 91 p 3

[Z. G. report: "Federal Secretariat's Lies"]

[Excerpt] Sisak—Additional information from the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs—which was presented to the deputies of the SFRY Assembly's Internal Policy Committee—claiming that the arms intended for the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs were carried by ships of the Sisak based "Danube Lloyd", was dismissed by this company as a lie. Lloyd's ships did not carry weapons, legally or illegally, and neither have they transferred them onto trucks at the port of Crnac near Sisak. [passage omitted]

Croatian Vice President: Press Is 'Fifth Column'

LD2102173591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1154 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Zagreb, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—Correspondents of some Serbian papers from Croatia are acting as a "fifth column", Croatian Assembly Vice President Vladimir Seks stated today at a session of the Socio-Political Chamber. Seks made this accusation in a question to the Croatian public prosecutor's office and the Ministries of Justice and Internal Affairs.

Seks cited the names of correspondents Arsenic, Dmitrovic, Zec, Subotic, and Mladenovic, who, according to him, are spreading falsehoods and are calling on Croatian citizens "to commit criminal acts". Seks characterized the Belgrade daily 'POLITIKA EKSPRES' as a "propaganda leaflet," and demanded to know what will be done by the aformentioned ministries and public prosecutor.

Izetbegovic Views Upcoming Presidency Session

LD2102175491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1336 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—I am not optimistic about tomorrow's talks on the country's future order. Everyone is entrenched now. This was stated by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic, prior to the next SFRY Presidency session which will be held tomorrow in the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Izetbegovic had talks yesterday with Serbian and Croatian Presidents Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman. Izetbegovic said that even after these talks, there is no place for optimism.

Both Milosevic and Tudjman are entrenched in their well-known stands. Still, according to Izetbegovic, Tudjman now holds "a softer" attitude toward the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA].

Izetbegovic believes that Tudjman made a small step forward regarding the issue of the armed forces, i.e. Tudjman considers that they should be allocated some common functions. Izetbegovic told Tudjman that he noticed a change in the latter's attitude. Tudjman's reply was that Croatia holds the same stance as previously. Still, Izetbegovic regards this as progress.

Bosnia-Hercegovina, according to Izetbegovic, will tomorrow present its so-called middle-of-the-road option for the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis. They will propose the formation of a federal state, which will carry out the most important common functions: defense, foreign policy, monetary policy, central bank, etc. All related institutions and bodies would be scaled down and would have a more balanced national composition.

Izetbegovic will host the SFRY Presidency and the republican presidents tomorrow. He does not believe, however, that in this irrational atmosphere, which is full of tension, that the Bosnia-Hercegovina proposal will settle the crisis. But he is convinced that this is the right path between two opposing options. Time will prove us right. Yugoslav is offered a billion dollars in loans toward development, and it would receive 4-5 billion dollars, but we are acting as someone lost in the desert, refusing the offered glass of water.

Izetbegovic believes that in this catastrophic economic and political situation, no one has the right to play with Yugoslav nations and nationalities. He appeals for reason from his collocutors at tomorrow's session.

Tomorrow's session of the SFRY Presidency will be held behind closed doors. Izetbegovic has proposed that the SFRY Presidency hold a news conference after the session.

Izetbegovic 'No Longer Optimistic'

AU2102201191 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Ljubomir Nikolic report on news conference by Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic prior to the SFRY Presidency session scheduled for tomorrow in Sarajevo; place and date not given]

[Text] [Nikolic] After the meetings I had yesterday with Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade and Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb, I realized that both are firmly keeping to their views and I am therefore less and less of an optimist about the Sarajevo summit tomorrow. This is what Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic told journalists today, announcing that tomorrow he will present the platform of this republic that the Republican Presidency will establish today. Izetbegovic added that at the beginning of the session he will propose that a news conference be held at the end of the session so the public will be thoroughly acquainted with the stands of the republican delegations and the course of the session.

Izetbegovic said that he was surprised by the similar positions of the Croatian and Macedonian delegations', and he pointed out that he will ask Kiro Gligorov tomorrow how that happened.

He reiterated his party's position that it will insist on adopting the declaration on the sovereignty and indivisibility of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and he added that the Serbian Democratic Party would be held responsible if its deputies walk out of the Republican Assembly session at which the declaration will be discussed.

Sulejman Ugljanin informed journalists today that if a single republic leaves Yugoslavia, the Party of Democratic Action in Sandzak would set up [aktivirati] a Muslim national council and demand full autonomy for this part of Serbia.

Talking to journalists, Serbian Democratic Party President Dr. Radovan Karadzic repeated the position of the party's council, which considers the declaration on sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina as unacceptable. We advocate full equality of Bosnia-Hercegovina with other republics in Yugoslavia, but the declaration negates the federal and republican constitutions, as well as the state sovereignty of Yugoslavia, Karadzic points out. He said that talks with the leaders of the Party of Democratic Action will continue and that he believes a reasonable solution will be found.

Concerning the Yugoslav summit in Sarajevo tomorrow, Karadzic expects everyone to support his own option of the country's future without employing any strategems, and he says that now is the last moment for doing so.

Dr. Radovan Karadzic again warned about homes of Serbs and military personnel [words indistinct] being marked, expressing a fear of a massacre such as the one on eve of St. Bartholomew's day [massacre of Huguenots in Paris in 1572] in which unarmed people could fall victim. We are appealing to federal and republican services, as well as the Yugoslav and world public, to help ensure a peaceful and safe life for all citizens, whatever their national and political affiliation, Karadzic says.

The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina announced today that the party's 11th congress will be held the day after tomorrow. The congress will be attended by 280 delegates who should decide on changing the party's name. It has been proposed that the republican League of Communists should be called the Socialist Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The congress will discuss and adopt a new program for the party, which should be transformed into a party of the modern European left.

Stresses Bosnia's Sovereignty

LD2102172291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0951 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—The sovereignty of Yugoslav republics, including Bosnia-Hercegovina, is,

historically speaking, a fait accompli. There is no turning back. This has been already established in the republic, and I believe that an overwhelming majority of citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina support this.

This was stated by the president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, Alija Izetbegovic, exclusively for 'ORIJENT EXPRES' [orient express], the first private daily newspaper in Sarajevo, to be launched tomorrow. Everyone knows, Izetbegovic noted, that the alternative to sovereignty is some form of appropriation or division that would lead to bloodshed and chaos. Citizens will rather preserve Bosnia-Hercegovina as a guarantee against all that.

I have no doubts that 80 to 90 percent of the citizens would vote in favor of such a motion in a referendum. For the time being, we are not calling a referendum, because it would be very expensive to do so and we have no money, Izetbegovic said. Young people are already living in the future, and we, the older generation, are only trying to glimpse into the future.

Young people already belong to the age of a sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina. They feel that to preserve peace and order we should assert the sovereignty of this republic, which could only be altered by the use of force or the introduction of a state of emergency, or through chaos, from which younger and more sensible people shy away.

Regarding the Democratic Action Party [Stranka Demokratske Akcije—SDA] declaration on the sovereignty and indivisibility of Bosnia-Hercegovina, it does not establish the sovereignty, but only proclaims it, Izetbegovic clarified. The declaration will be presented to the Bosnia-Hercegovina assembly, and we have no doubt that it will be adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes. Those opposing it will have to explain why they are against the sovereignty of their own republic, and state their own proposals.

We do not accept a special status for Bosnia-Hercegovina, some limited sovereignty. If Serbia is fully sovereign, and if Croatia, Slovenia and others are, let those who oppose sovereignty for Bosnia-Hercegovina explain why this republic should not be like the others. Bosnia-Hercegovina must be sovereign, precisely because it has a mixed population and any other solution would lead to division and bloodshed. Perhaps this would not happen in Serbia and Slovenia. Sovereignty is synonymous, however, with stability and peace. Here lies the moral and political strength of the SDA initiative, Izetbegovic stressed in the 'ORIJENT EXPRES' interview.

Truck Drivers Blockade Federation Palace

LD2102140891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1046 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 21 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav truck drivers today staged a strike before the Belgrade-based Federation Palace, the headquarters of the federal government and state presidency.

Some one hundred trucks are blocking all roads leading to the building in front of which have gathered about 300 drivers.

The strike was organized by the Independent Trade Union of the Truck Drivers of Yugoslavia in protest against measures introduced by Prime Minister Ante Markovic's government.

The truck drivers are demanding that their firms be exempt from motor fuel taxes and that foreign transport firms be banned from bringing more than 200 litres of fuel into Yugoslavia.